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THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

THEME:
"Christian Perspectives on Hostility"

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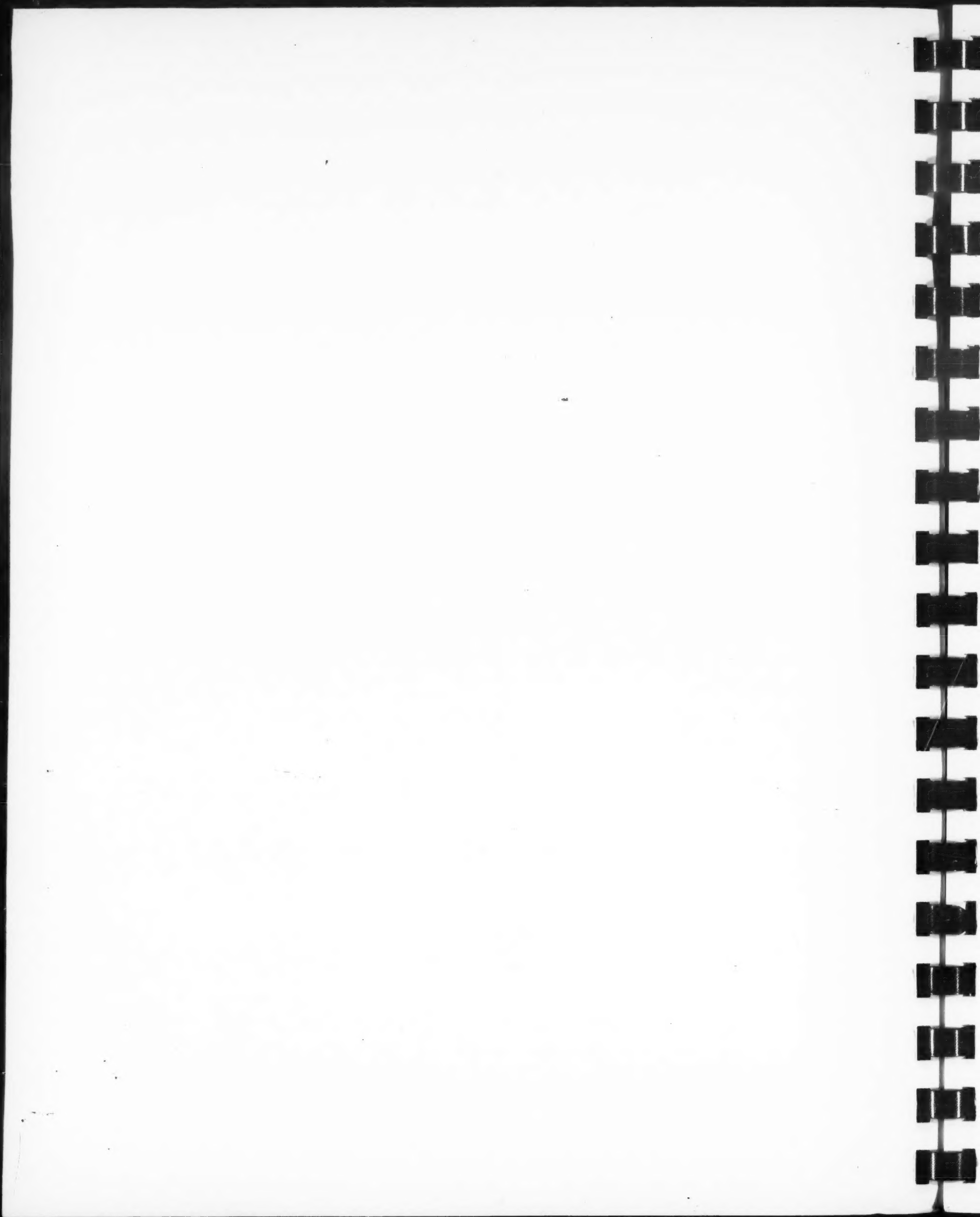


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PREFACE

The convention this year is based on the theme, "Christian Perspectives on Hostility," which we believe to be important in any area where there is an interaction of persons, whether it be in the home, church, school or in a therapeutic session. The theme suggests a difficult problem and we anticipate that the 1966 C.A.P.S. convention will provide some answers to questions that concern many persons interested in psychological studies.

The convention this year continues the C.A.P.S. program of exploring the ways and means of dealing with man and his problems within the context of the evangelical Christian faith.

In 1954, at the first convention, along with some general papers on Christianity, Psychology and Psychiatry, there began a discussion on the Christian approach to understanding personality. The next year, along with more general papers, the group considered: "The Place of the Christian Concept of Sin in the Theory and Practice of Psychiatric Work." Included in the 1956 papers was one on "The Formulation of a Christian Psychology."

Beginning in 1957, the convention each year adopted a singular theme for study. For the next two years ('57-'58), the papers centered on "Toward a Christian Concept of Personality." 1959 saw a furtherance of these ideas under the title: "Personality Change; Criteria and Methodology." The themes for subsequent years were: "Guilt in the Christian Perspective" (1960); "The Psychology of Christian Conversion" (1961); "Social-Psychological Aspects of Christian Nurture" (1962); "Understanding and Helping Teenagers and the Married" (1963); "The Dynamics of Forgiving," (1964); "The Dynamics of Learning Christian Concepts" (1965).

Each year all the papers are published in a volume which we call the "Proceedings." Copies of annual volumes are available from the Executive Secretary. Members receive copies as a part of their membership privilege.

Each year the Board of Directors is open to suggestions as to what themes will be of real value to those of the different professions which meet together in this convention. The Board has always tried to maintain a good balance between the practical and the theoretical.

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HOSTILITY; PSYCHOLOGICALLY DESCRIBED AND INTERPRETED

by

Richard Westmaas, Ph.D.*

The title of this paper indicates a very broad area to be covered. Quite appropriately, the conference planners envisioned the need not only for description but also for interpretation of hostility. In the course of writing, I found myself wishing I could spend more time on this or that topic, for the problems are complex and the literature is really voluminous. Although my coverage will undoubtedly reveal my biases as to which areas are most important, I have tried to stick to the main task.

My task, as I construe it, is that of providing a reasonably balanced over-view of the topic of hostility as described and interpreted in the psychological literature. The intent is to place before this conference the basic theories and concepts, and the conclusions from psychological research on hostility so as to set a framework for further discussion.

So as to focus attention on the limited areas to be treated in this paper, I will begin with some disclaimers. This paper will not deal with hostility on the institutional, societal, inter-racial or national scale, although psychologists have contributed extensively in these areas. The primary emphasis will be on the individual in interaction with other individuals. In this disclaimer, I feel quite comfortable in the knowledge that a competent sociologist and a knowledgeable educator will supply the needed coverage. Likewise, no attempt will be made to provide an explicit theological or philosophical perspective on hostility. That can safely be left to our next speaker.

I feel a little more arbitrary in further delimiting my discussion to the more usual, normal, and neurotic forms of hostility, giving short shrift to the extremes of hostility displayed in overt criminal acts. I am happy to note that another speaker will deal with the effects of hostility on the person, freeing me of the responsibility of detailing the emotionally and physiologically debilitating results of hostility in the individual. Having thus narrowed the topic, I am forced to conclude that there is still plenty of hostility left to deal with.

The plan of this paper will be to deal first with the problem of defining hostility, proceeding then to a consideration of the sources of hostility. Following a discussion of inhibitions in expressing hostility, I will treat the modifications of its expression with regard to target and form. The last major topic will concern the reduction of hostility and the constructive aspects of aggression.

*Dr. Richard Westmaas is a clinical psychologist at Pine Rest Christian Hospital in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Dr. Westmaas received his Ph.D. degree from Michigan State University.

I. Hostility Defined

In this paper we will follow the convention of using the term hostility to denote behavior aimed at the injury or destruction of someone or something. It should be made clear at the outset, however, that hostility need not be manifested in overt behavior which achieves its aim. It may exist as "the content of a fantasy or dream, or even a well-thought out plan of revenge," (Dollard, et. al., 1939). In general usage, the terms aggression of hostile behavior refer to the overt manifestation of behavior which is injurious or destructive, while hostility refers somewhat more broadly to the motivational, emotional, attitudinal complex inferred from overt behavior or antecedent events.

It may be helpful at this point to differentiate the various aspects of hostility. When we speak of hostility, we may conceivably be talking of four different phenomena. First of all, there is the interpersonal (or intrapersonal) act of hostility which I will term aggression. Secondly, we can refer to the motivational aspects of hostility as an instinct or an impelling state of arousal which is gratified in hostile acts. Thirdly, we can distinguish the emotional aspects of hostility--the concomitant feeling state and physiological patterning which we term anger, or in its extremes, rage or fury. Finally, the attitudinal aspects of hostility are distinguishable, as a relatively enduring mental and emotional set, or disposition, which we refer to in such terms as hatred, contempt, derision, disdain, and scorn.

Having distinguished four aspects of hostility, we might ask; what are the relationships between them. This problem will be examined in greater detail later in this paper but a few comments will reveal how complex our topic already has become.

Let us take a common example from the school yard. A child is sitting on the steps close to tears. Other, apparently happier, children are taunting her, "Ha ha, Karen" and "Oh, isn't that too bad." When the child breaks into tears, the others take up the chant, "Cry baby, cry, put your finger in your eye, tell your mother twasn't I."

Now we can ask ourselves, was this a hostile act? Obviously the answer is yes. The taunting children were displaying extreme aggression. Were hostile motives in operation? Very probably, although the example does not make clear where these originate. Regarding attitudes, the verbal aggression of the children clearly reflects their disdain and contempt of the girl Karen. But how about anger? The children were laughing and apparently enjoying themselves while taunting Karen. Evidently aggression, even extreme aggression, is not necessarily accompanied by angry feelings.

Having seen that hostility may occur in the absence of anger, we might suggest that aggression may also occur without hostile attitudes but coincident with positive attitudes of respect, and perhaps even love. Also, might it be that anger may occur without hostility, not even the more subtle indirect forms of hurting or destruction?

These questions will recur later. To answer them we will need to examine the larger problems of hostility at greater lengths, beginning with the question of the sources of hostility.

II. The Sources of Hostility

Psychological accounts of the sources of hostility divide themselves into those which emphasize internal, instinctual factors (the nativists) and those which emphasize the external, situational, and acquired factors (the environmentalists). Most recent theorists represent hostility as stemming from an interplay between innate, but modifiable reaction patterns, and situational determinants, or releasing stimuli.

The instinctivistic views of hostility propose that man has "an active instinct for hatred and destruction" (Freud, 1959), which is constantly striving for expression. Before World War I, Freud, the most influential exponent of this position, had viewed hostile impulses as resulting mainly from frustrations. The concept of a death instinct (Thanatos) in opposition to the libidinal life instinct (Eros) was a later development. The transformation of the self-annihilating death wishes into externally directed aggression, occurred, said Freud, through a union with the libidinal impulses. These two basic instincts, Eros and Thanatos were thought to be present in varying proportions in all behavior.

More recent orthodox psychoanalytic theorists as well as the Jungian and Adlerian analytic theorists have differed with Freud's theory of death wishes. Hartmann, et. al., (1949) posit an innate aggressive force, conceptually similar to libido but not derived from a death instinct. Fenichel (1945) also rejects the death instinct but returns to Freud's earlier conception of aggression as stemming from the frustration of libidinal drives.

The concept of innate, instinctual well-springs of hatred and destruction is deserving of close inspection. This is essentially a pessimistic view of man. Beneath man's civilized and cultured facade lurks the specter of man's primitive cruelty to man. Wartime atrocities, peacetime riots, individual acts of senseless brutality, and the apparently irrevocable tendency of man to wage war are cited in support of such a view.

This view is often especially appealing to Christians, who cite chapter and verse from the Bible to support their views. Not infrequently, this viewpoint is used to sanction hostility, as in a right-wing propaganda pamphlet I recently received. The reasoning goes that since man by nature hates God and his brother, it is stupid and foolish to fall victim to "peacemongering" propaganda. Instead, we should prepare ourselves for pursuing conflict, since force is the only language our enemies will understand.

Parenthetically, this example illustrates that one's viewpoint as to the sources of man's hostility already contribute to the question of how one manages hostility in one's self and how one responds to hostility in others. An interesting research project might be to correlate views of the sources of aggression with the individual's own aggressive tendencies and management strategies. Some work along these lines has already been done, as we shall see later in discussing the authoritarian personality.

Most psychologists and many psychoanalysts today favor an environmentalist interpretation of the sources of aggression. In a book which laid the ground work for most modern research on aggression, Dollard and his colleagues (1939) state unequivocally their assumption that, "Aggression is always a consequence of frustration." They further specify that the amount of aggression is directly related to the amount of frustration.

It should be noted that for the frustration-aggression theorists, frustration is a situational variable, not an internal emotional affair. Frustration is defined as an interference with a goal oriented activity--the blocking of the individual's attempts to achieve desirable gratification.

General observation as well as psychological research offers many demonstrations of frustration-stimulated aggressive behavior. There is no doubt that frustration does arouse hostility, although it may also elicit other responses such as fear. The question to be raised is, does all hostility arise as a result of frustration? Critics of the frustration-aggression theory have pointed to examples of aggression both in humans and animals in which there is no apparent frustration, (Menninger, 1942). Examples given are: aggression in response to attack or threat, resentment at the intrusion of a stranger into the group, and competitive fighting over possession of some object. The frustration-aggression theorists' responses to these criticisms are generally in terms of broadening the concept of frustration to include these examples.

While insisting that frustrations are the primary source of aggression, modern theorists do agree that one additional source of aggression is the learning of aggressiveness. As an instrumental response, aggression may be reinforced like any other response and thus become an habitual behavior pattern in those situations in which it has been rewarded. This instrumental aggression is not aimed primarily at the injury or destruction of a frustrater, but at the attainment of some other goal. Thus the individual who not only gets away with his aggression, but is rewarded for it, may be using his aggression in the service of other ends. Parents may unwittingly contribute to instrumental aggression, for example, when they yield to the persistent angry demands of their children, thus reinforcing the very patterns of behavior which they may verbally deplore.

Clinical observation suggests that hostility may perform instrumental functions not only in obtaining desired external goals but also in the maintenance of self-esteem, and as a defense against anxiety, feelings of helplessness, and even tenderness.

Every clinician is familiar with the type of patient who displays a facade of angry, rebellious independence. "I can take care of myself" "Who needs you" and similar stances are frequently only a prelude to a frank expression of feelings of loneliness, helplessness, and needs for love. Although the angry feelings may have arisen from a betrayal of trust, or from the fact that dependency supplies were withdrawn without the consent of the individual, the anger appears clinically as a secondary phenomenon; a coverup for the original feelings of helplessness, loneliness and pleas for succorance, all of which would be too painful to admit to oneself or to the outside world. Scenes such as the school yard scene described earlier, give testimony to the danger of letting one's dependency needs show to others who are unwilling to acknowledge their own.

Returning to the question of the sources of hostility in man, it may be fruitful to examine data from the animal world. If there is an universal, primitive, aggressive instinct, then in the animal world, one might expect to find aggression flourishing, unfettered by social or moral sanctions. However, aggression in the animal world appears to follow quite lawful and predictable patterns.

Scott (1958) in reviewing the literature concludes that "there is no evidence for any true 'hunger' for fighting," in animals (page 78). There is, however, a complicated network of internal causes for aggression.

The male sex hormone, testosterone propionate, appears to be intimately linked with aggressiveness in animals. Castrated male rats, for example, show a diminished aggressiveness which returns when the supply of male sex hormones is restored through injections (Beach, 1945).

Other evidence for internal causes of aggression are related to the finding that two forms of adrenalin with slightly different effects are secreted in fear and in anger. In the animal world, the more timid animals such as rabbits are found to have more adrenalin, while more aggressive animals such as lions have greater amounts of noradrenalin. Human subjects who were more overtly aggressive in a frustrating situation, were found by Harvard physiologists (Funkenstein, King, and Drolette, 1954) to display a noradrenalin physiological pattern of responses as compared to the adrenalin-like pattern of those inhibiting their anger.

J.P. Scott, an experimental biologist, offers what seems to me a realistic appraisal when he says, "We can (also) conclude that there is no such thing as a simple 'instinct for fighting' in the sense of an internal driving force which has to be satisfied. There is, however, an internal physiological mechanism which has only to be stimulated to produce fighting" (page 62).

The problem of the nativist vs. environmentalist views of the sources of hostility will probably never fully be answered by research. The question involves, basically, assumptions about the nature of man which precede research activities and the interpretation of results. However, any views on the topic must certainly take account of the data. Berkowitz (1962), writing from a position sympathetic to the frustration-aggression theory, moves closer to a compromise position similar to that of McDougall. He holds that "frustrations produce an emotional state, anger, which heightens the probability of occurrence of drive specific behaviors, namely, aggression. However, whether aggressive responses actually are performed, even in the absence of restraints against hostility, depends upon the presence of suitable cues or releases, stimuli associated with the anger instigator. The strength of the aggressive responses arising from a frustration is said to be a joint function of anger intensity and the degree of association between the instigator and the releasing cue."

III. The Inhibition of Hostility

One of the most obvious facts regarding hostility is that most of us are ashamed of it, guilty over expressing it, and reluctant to acknowledge it in ourselves even when it is apparent to others.

The sources of this internal conflict are not difficult to discover. Beginning already in early childhood, overt aggression is discouraged, shamed, and punished by parents, and in the adult world, social, legal, and moral sanctions against hostility greatly limit the areas of permissible aggression.

Although it is tempting to expand on the development of aggression and the socialization process resulting in its inhibition, I have chosen for lack of time to merely enumerate the sources of inhibition:

1. Inhibition arising from the possible actions of others toward the aggressor. In response to aggressive attack, several unpleasant consequences may develop from others' reactions:
 - a. The person attacked may express counteraggression, and if stronger or more influential, may inflict serious injury. People are much less likely to attack those who are stronger or higher in status than those of equal or lower strength or status level. Thus, among humans as well as in the animal world, there is a pecking order based upon the status and power of the individuals in a group.
 - b. Secondly, regardless of the outcome, punishment from a third party such as a parent, policeman, God, or other authority figure, may be expected to result from a display of aggression.
 - c. Thirdly, the social judgments and disapproval of onlookers or friends who hear of our aggression may cause us to lose status and respect. The more attractive such persons and the greater the need for their friendship, the greater the inhibition.
2. Inhibition arising from one's internal moral standards. For the well socialized adult, the internalization of social and moral standards provides a barrier to the expression of aggression, even in the absence of external controls. Both clinical and experimental data indicate that the quality and effectiveness of these internal controls are highly dependent upon the parent-child relationship. The degree to which such internal controls actually inhibit hostility may be less than we often believe, however. Festinger and his colleagues (1952) have shown that there is a much greater tendency to express aggression under conditions of anonymity than when social sanctions prevail. Also, the Nazi war crimes, and Stanley Milgram's (1963) experimental investigations of obedience indicate an almost limitless capacity for one individual to injure another, provided this is legitimized by instructions from a "legitimate" source of authority.
3. Inhibition arising from ambivalent feelings toward the target of aggression. In describing this source of conflict, it is well to emphasize that hostility seldom occurs in isolation, but usually in context with other needs and feelings. In the case where the hated person is also much loved and/or needed to meet emotional needs, hostile feelings are countered by fears of destroying or harming the object of one's love. The destruction of the object of our love is a matter of great anxiety, inhibiting our aggression.
4. Inhibitions arising from the integrative functions of the ego. Most of us like to feel that if we are angry, it is with a good reason. In fact, one of the most common responses to having attention called to our anger is to launch into a justification of it. By the same token, justifiable, realistic, or unavoidable frustrations are less likely to provoke hostile responses than arbitrary or unjustified frustrations (Rothaus and Worschel, 1960). The extremely hostile reactions to the most minor frustrations displayed by the disturbed children in Redl and Wineman's study of Children Who Hate indicate, by contrast, the important regulatory and inhibitory functions which a well integrated ego provides. Concepts such as ego strength and frustration tolerance have been invoked to describe such internal controls.

5. Inhibition arising from sex role. Investigations of hostility in women reveal, in general, greater inhibitions of overt aggression than among men. Sears (1961) suggests that a major deterrent to the expression of aggression among women is that their sex role excludes many aggressive behaviors which are permissible to males. It simply is not "lady-like" or even womanly to display overt hostility.

It will be recalled that the thwarting of goal-directed activity is defined by Dollard and his colleagues as a stimulus for instigating hostility. Since the inhibition of aggression is just such a thwarting, these theorists hypothesize that "interference with acts of direct aggression is an additional frustration, increasing the instigation to other aggressive responses....." (page 40).

Thus, we have, in theory, a vicious circle of hostility and inhibition. A person whose hostility has been aroused becomes still more hostile when avenues of expressing this hostility have been blocked. This hypothesis conforms with clinical and experimental findings that the inhibited, passive individual with low self-esteem may be extremely hostile underneath his acquiescent facade. Research on fantasy aggression of such inhibited subjects sometimes reveals a greater level of fantasy aggression than subjects whose hostility is more overt (Bandura and Walters, 1959). Lest the tension from this vicious circle of hostility and inhibition become too severe, let us turn now to the expression of aggression.

IV. The Expression of Hostility

Because of the various sources of inhibition, adjustments are made in the expression of hostility. One of these is a modification in the target selected for venting hostility. Another modification is in the form in which aggression is expressed.

A. The Target of Aggression

Theoretically the strongest hostility is directed against the perceived source of frustration. However, aggression is not always neatly focused on the person responsible for instigating the anger. Diffusely directed anger and generalization, or displacement to innocent scapegoats is frequently observable on both the interpersonal and societal scales. Neal Miller, in a 1948 paper, attempted an imaginative integration of the psychoanalytic concept of displacement with the formulations of stimulus-response psychology regarding stimulus generalization. Berkowitz, (1962) drawing from Miller's formulations, expresses the theoretical relationships between hostility, inhibition, and selection of targets for the expression of aggression as follows: "(1) The strongest aggressive response evoked by a frustration is directed against the perceived source of the frustration; (2) Aggressive responses also generalize to objects regarded as being similar to the frustrating agent (or which are psychologically "close" to this agent", with the amount of generalization becoming smaller the less similar the object is to the agent (or the greater the psychological "distance" between the two); (3) Responses inhibiting aggression are also generalized to objects similar to the instigator, with the strength of these inhibitory responses declining the less similar the object is to the instigator (or the greater the psychological "distance" between the two); (4) The

strength of these incompatible responses (i.e., aggression and inhibition) causes them to detract from each other; (5) An increase in the drive involved in either the aggression or inhibitory gradient will raise the overall height of that gradient; (6) The gradient of generalization of the inhibitory responses falls off more steeply with dissimilarity (or distance) if the inhibitions are based upon fear of punishment for aggression rather than on interiorized moral prohibitions against aggression" (page 130). (Inhibitions based mainly on fear of punishment soon disappear in the absence of the punitive figure.)

Results of empirical studies generally conform to predictions derived from these hypotheses. Experimental demonstrations of displacement have occurred in the animal laboratory as well as in social-psychological research.

One of the most significant areas in which the concept of displacement has been applied is that of racial and ethnic prejudice. It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with the complexities of intergroup hostility. The findings certainly indicate that displacement is only one of many sources of intergroup hatred and that the scapegoating phenomenon is evidently not uniformly displayed. In keeping with the major purpose of this paper, I would like to draw attention to the studies which focus on individual differences in the tendency to displace aggression.

The pioneering studies of the California group on the personality of the anti-semitic individual (Adorno, et. al., 1950) have led to a host of studies in which the personal sources of social attitudes have been examined. The work of the California group utilized an approach which combined psychoanalytic theory of personality, clinical methods for the assessment of personality, and modern social-psychological methods for opinion and attitude measurement. The personality of the prejudiced individual emerging from this study is labeled the Authoritarian Personality, which is also the title of the book reporting their formulations and findings.

Authoritarianism, as measured by the F (for Fascist) scale has since been a variable in a host of social-psychological studies. In general, it appears that authoritarianism is a meaningful psychological syndrome. Rokeach (1960) has shown that authoritarianism is not limited to rightist groups and has devised ways of measuring authoritarianism of either the right or the left. While it is tempting to expand on the highly provocative research demonstrating the relationships between authoritarianism and such things as prejudice, cognitive style, rigidity, and religion, I will instead turn to an examination of the sources of authoritarianism.

The sources of authoritarianism are derived, according to the California theorists, from the failure to resolve the ambivalence of the parent-child relationship. A very strict and punitive superego, essentially unintegrated with the ego, is behind the authoritarian's inability to admit blame and to accept guilt. The resentment of the child toward his parents and other authority figures is, therefore, not admitted into consciousness but is resolved by thinking in terms of dichotomies--a glorification of the parent and in-groups, and a displacement of hostility onto out-groups who are endowed with all those characteristics which must be ignored in the in-group. This black-and-white view of the world is a familiar feature of authoritarians of both the right and the left.

In support of this formulation of the dynamics of authoritarianism, the high authoritarian subjects as compared with the lows in the original study gave a less differentiated, more stereotyped and idealized picture of their parents as compared with the lows, yet described their fathers as more stern and distant, and dominating a submissive, and long-suffering but morally restrictive mother. Further support is given in a study by Harris and colleagues (1950) which shows that parents of prejudiced children tended to emphasize strict obedience, strict control, and the inculcation of fear more than did the parents of non-prejudiced children. Sear's (1961) extensive work on the development of conscience in the child also shows that punitive, non-love oriented discipline of aggression is associated with the increased expression of aggression in contexts where punishment can be avoided.

Aggression which is diverted away from the original instigator may not only be expressed toward other targets but also against oneself. The phenomenon of aggression directed against the self is of great theoretical and clinical interest. Self-blame, self-depreciation, guilt, depression, and self-defeating patterns of behavior are common examples of self-directed aggression. The ultimate in self-destructiveness, suicide, is one of the leading causes of death in the United States. It is everywhere more frequent than murder.

It will be recalled that the problem of masochism, in apparent contradiction to the pleasure principle, was one of the reasons that Freud developed his theory of a death instinct. According to the frustration-aggression theorists, the conditions under which aggression is directed against the self are, (a) when all other aggressive responses are blocked by anticipation of punishment, and (b) when the self, rather than some external agent, is perceived as the source of frustration.

Freud distinguished three forms of self-aggression or masochism which he termed; (a) erotogenic (a lust for pain), (b) feminine (derived from the erotogenic masochism), and (c) moral masochism. The first two forms of masochism he conceptualized as being psychogenetically related to the union of the death instinct with the libido. Moral masochism, however, is conceived of as a psychogenetically later development, presupposing the development of a punitive superego--the introjection of the punitive parental image. The moral masochist displays a self-defeating style of life, a perennial search for opportunities to turn the other cheek. Such behavior, says Freud, is motivated by an unconscious sense of guilt or a need for punishment, deriving from a rigid and unforgiving superego (cf. Pattison, 1964).

Such individuals present special problems in psychotherapy (as well as in other social situations) for they have a vested interest in their problems. Their depression and/or abasement represents an unconscious attempt to expiate and atone. To succeed in life, to be somebody of some importance, would be "unfair" as one of my depressed patients blurted out in an unguarded moment. Perhaps for this reason, physical treatments involving symbolic punishment (ECT) are sometimes successful in alleviating symptoms when the more accepting, non-punitive approach of psychotherapy is unproductive.

The sources of persistent masochistic patterns of behavior are often to be found in the individual's inner view of himself. The child whose parents are emotionally rejecting, or who set hopelessly unattainable

standards of behavior, is faced with a difficult decision. According to Sullivan (1953) he can, theoretically, embrace the highly threatening idea that the parents, on whom his life depends, are bad parents--or he can accept the idea that he is no good and that his parents' evaluation of him as unimportant, worthless, or stupid are correct. The inhibited, depressed, or masochistic person has made the latter, safer choice. The need to believe in the basic goodness of one's parents is, in fact, almost unbelievably strong in most of the patients whom I have seen. The command to "honor thy father and thy mother" appears to be deeply ingrained very early in life. Even when a parent has been extremely sadistic, rejecting, or has deserted the child, the idea of the "good" parent is often unshakeable and its unconscious twin "if only I had been the proper kind of child, he or she would have loved me" is nearly as persistent.

B. The Form In Which Hostility is Expressed

As indicated earlier, modifications in the expression of hostility arise as a consequence of various sources of inhibition of aggression. Modifications in the target of aggression are represented by displacement and turning aggression against the self. Modifications in the form of aggression represent another type of compromise between hostile impulses and inhibitory forces. Berkowitz (1962) suggests a continuum of direct versus indirect forms of aggression.

The most direct, uninhibited form of aggression, physical assault, is seldom tolerated in middle class society. Small children, certain athletes, lower class males, criminals, and exasperated parents are among the few who commonly display overt physical aggression in our culture.

Verbal aggression is probably a more frequent form of aggression for socialized individuals. But even in verbal aggression, inhibition plays a strong role. Among college males, at least, individuals who severely inhibit their aggression are unlikely to possess a good vocabulary for expressing their anger (Westmaas, 1962). Social factors also enter into the readiness to express verbal aggression. Peer relationships foster verbal aggression as compared with superior-subordinate interactions. Further, among peers close friendships allow for more verbal aggression than more distant relationships (French, 1944; Pepitone and Reichling, 1955).

Although direct aggression, whether physical or verbal, is easy to identify; the more indirect forms of aggression may be much more subtle and far less obvious. This diminished visibility has, of course, great functional utility in the avoidance of punishment or rejection and in the circumvention of guilt.

The masochistic individual, for example, frequently utilizes his or her masochism as a form of psychological blackmail. Guilt arousing displays of the injury and less silent appeals to the conscience of the adversary (for example, "Now see what you've done to me" or "You'll miss me when I'm gone") clearly reflect the dual thrust of the masochist's anger. The ultimate in this form of blackmail is the neurotic suicidal threat, "love me or I die" (Schneidman and Farbarow, 1957).

The more subtle expressions of hostility can only be understood in the context of interpersonal interaction. Considered by itself, a given example of behavior may give no evidence of being hostile. Eric Berne (1961) maintains that no amount of data processing on the individual

level will provide an understanding of what is going on at the interpersonal transactional level. While not attempting to be exhaustive, the following examples of indirect aggression will serve to illustrate the more common forms: (1) guilt inducing behavior--stimulating the superego of the adversary (through masochism and projection); (2) shame inducing behavior--precipitating the humiliation of the adversary; (3) passive-aggression--thwarting the adversary by withholding what is expected or needed. This is a very common form of indirect hostility, traceable, according to the analysts, to the potty chair and particularly useful in dealing with the demands of an authority figure; (4) fostering jealousy--giving to others what is withheld from the adversary; (5) snubbing--avoiding contact with the adversary. Newcomb (1947) refers to this as "autistic" hostility since the isolation from social interaction precludes any new experiences which might modify the hostile attitudes.

V. The Reduction of Hostility

The topic of modifying hostile attitudes introduces us to our last major topic, the reduction of hostility. The problem of reducing hostility is of tremendous personal, social, and international significance. No doubt an entire conference could be planned on this theme.

Orthodox psychoanalysts as well as Dollard and his colleagues insist that the reduction of hostility results from the expression of aggression. This so called "catharsis hypothesis" is related to theoretical views of the nature of motivation in general and the sources of hostility in particular. Psychoanalytic theorists would maintain that the individual must seek a means of discharging the tension of aggressive as well as of sexual energy, the reservoir must be drained. If not directed outward, the hostility would, at very least, turn back upon the self as masochism or guilt feelings. Constructive uses of aggressive energy can and do occur, however, in the form of sublimated aggression.

Dollard and his colleagues would maintain that, as with other drives, hostility, once aroused, tends toward the consummation of the goal response, namely inflicting injury. Upon expression, the instigation to aggression is reduced, pending further frustration. Instrumental aggression, leading to the removal of the frustration, can also reduce hostility but this is not catharsis in the usual sense of the word.

As Berkowitz points out, the relief coming from "letting off steam" or "getting something off our chest" can result from sources other than reducing the strength of hostile drives. Through the expression of aggression a person can also reach a nonaggressive goal, remove a threat, demonstrate his virility and superiority, or express an acquired habit.

Many theorists have failed to distinguish between the expression of anger induced by an immediate frustration and the persistent or customary aggressiveness of the aggressive personality. It is possible to maintain that aggressiveness, like any other habit, is a behavior pattern which is strengthened by reward. Thus, an alternative to the catharsis hypothesis is possible. "Providing an opportunity to express hostility may lessen the frustration-engendered aggression (anger), but could also evoke and/or strengthen a person's habitual hostile tendencies" (Berkowitz, 1962, page 203). There are research studies to support either alternative.

Research on the reduction of hostility offers many puzzles and is susceptible to a variety of interpretations, (Feshbach, 1956, 1961; Berkowitz, 1958, 1962). One of the chief problems is that of evaluating the significance of guilt and aggression-anxiety in diminishing overt aggression, and in distinguishing this source of reduction from a true reduction in the strength of hostile drives resulting from catharsis.

In any case, conventional theories of the reduction of hostility seem to have gotten themselves into a conceptual bind. Either the individual reduces hostility in inflicting injury (thus providing instigation to anger in the other person, whose retaliation provides further instigation to aggression) or he reduces overt aggression through inhibition (thus providing further instigation to aggression within himself). In either case, the net effect is increased hostility. Such a theoretical description applies to some individuals and to some relationships perhaps, but a vicious circle of aggression is not descriptive of healthy people and healthy relationships.

This conceptual double bind results, I believe, from three deficiencies in current psychological theory. The first is a deficiency in concepts which describe the nature and variety of interactions and transactions between persons, and the reliance on outmoded biological concepts which implicitly view the individual as an entity unto himself. The second, is a failure to conceptualize and elaborate the processes of peacemaking and forgiveness. The third is a deficiency in conceptualizing hostility as nothing but destructive and injury inducing.

Eric Berne and George Bach, both creative innovators in group therapy, have attempted to correct some of these deficiencies. Bern's (1961, 1964) analysis of interpersonal transactions provides a refreshing description of the "Games People Play" as well as offering a conceptual framework in which mutually destructive transactions can be distinguished from constructive ones. Berne would maintain that man is a natural game player.

Bach (1962) maintains "Man is a natural fighter. One of his primary battles and one crucial to the meaning of his existence is his acquisitive fighting for a growth-stimulating milieu, and his aggressive rejection of pathogenic interpersonal influences". According to Bach's concept of "therapeutic aggression" the primary aim of aggression is territorial, not injury-inflicting. Emotional "feeding grounds" says Bach, "are won and held by constructive-acquisitive fighting, not by inflicting injury on others for the sake of aggression-catharsis." Angyal's (1965) conception of life as a process of self-expansion also presents aggression as a constructive force.

Anger is very likely one of our most readily available emotions. The individual who displays no aggression whatever would be one I would not care to meet, for he would certainly be dead, either emotionally or physically. Hostility need not be destructive in any human or ultimate sense. It serves a definite self-preserving function in the face of stress. But more than that, hostility may be directed against that which we all might wish destroyed in each of us--our pretentious falseness; our short-sighted narcissism; and our alienation, each from his neighbor in mutual distrust and loneliness.

Bach as well as Berne would argue that one of the first steps to reducing hostility is to recognize the hostility which already exists in a

relationship and to identify its mutual sources as well as its mutual payoffs and losses. The goal should then be, not less fighting, but more effective fighting; a reduction of the injury component and an increase in the information value in discovering just what are the mutual releasing stimuli for love and hate. In short, a fight for emotional honesty, from which intimacy develops. With this kind of aggression, hostility in the sense of personal injury is indeed diminished. In its place appears a firmer, more resilient relationship which is able to survive and grow through the mutual irritations and frustrations which we inevitably engender in one another in our daily life.

As always, the poets have already anticipated us. Blake expresses much of what has been said in the words:

"I was angry with my foe,
I told him not;
my wrath did grow.
I was angry with my friend,
I told him so;
my wrath did end."

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BIBLICAL REVELATION AND HOSTILITY

by

Elton M. Eenigenburg, Ph.D.*

The Terms Defined

A common understanding of the meaning of the term "biblical revelation" cannot be assumed. There is no longer even a simple disjunction between a "conservative" view of the term and a "liberal" view. We cannot take time now to consider the various theories of biblical revelation, with their attendant theories of biblical inspiration. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to consider which elements of the idea of biblical revelation are important for an understanding of a factor like "hostility" in the setting of such a revelation. While any statements at all in this area will necessarily presuppose a particular theory of revelation, we shall assume that it is possible to make such statements without having to spell out in detail the special theory in which the statements have their natural home.

Two statements or propositions are of critical importance for us. The first of these is that knowledge or informational elements which cannot be learned from any other source are found in the Bible. "Revelation" in connection with the Scriptures denotes an objective divine movement in which elements of knowledge necessary to man's well-being and eternal happiness are disclosed to him by God. The force of this for the subject before us is that we can then approach the Bible in the matter of "hostility" and expect to find some information about it which would be unavailable to us if revelation meant, not God's disclosing, but man's idea-forming activity out of a religiously concerned personal center.

This is not to say that much of what the Bible has to say in the matter of hostility cannot be found in other books, or that everything it says on this subject belongs to a special kind of gnosis unavailable to men in general. Men and women in the Bible, like Cain and Abel, Jael and Sisera, Paul and Barnabas, fall into conflict with one another, get angry, argue, say nasty things to one another, sometimes slay--just as men and women do in every intra-human context. However, their place and role in the revelatory materials often have a good deal to do with the larger picture in which God is revealing his purpose by word and deed. Even the peculiar form hostility takes with respect to the larger divine purpose discloses not only something of man's psychological possibilities, but of the revelation of the divine nature and purpose--to which the hostility represents a reaction in one way or another.

*Dr. Elton M. Eenigenburg is Professor of Christian Ethics and Philosophy of Religion at Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan. Dr. Eenigenburg received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University.

The instance of Cain, for example, tells us something about Cain as a certain kind of human being. It tells us something about God, too, for he is very much a member of this "triangle" (Cain-Abel-God). So the instance is revelatory in some sense. But Cain's hostility toward his brother is good, down-to-earth human hostility, the kind described in a thousand other books. On the purely human level it is revelatory of the destructive capacities of the human personality. It is helpful that these capacities are affirmed in the Bible, and that no attempt is made in the name of a vindication of the God who made man to deny them, or to ascribe them to a "third force," namely, Satan.

A second significant revelational element is this, that the aspects or kinds of human behavior which are approved by God are disclosed in the biblical account. The implication is that they cannot be found in the same amount or manner elsewhere. This factor will be of importance to us in the latter part of our discussion, when we consider the implications of the matters before us for the life and conduct of God's covenant people.

While the term "hostility" is open to a variety of definitions, depending in each case upon the basic orientation of the definer, we shall regard it in this paper as referring to biblical situations in which an attitude of antagonism exists in the feelings of a person towards one or more other persons. Hostile feelings vary, of course, in degree of intensity. Usually we think of them as issuing in action, though the internal history of a hostile feeling is ordinarily much more extensive than the overt act which embodies its fury. The fact that the Bible spends so little time tracing the internal history in most instances should not mislead us into limiting our descriptions of biblical hostility to overt acts of anger. On the other hand, since the Bible does not concern itself with psychological analyses of hostility states, considerable caution needs to be exercised in using the biblical materials in the service of contemporary analytical theory. Biblical instances of hostility make interesting case studies, but they are falsified in analysis when the integral factor of divine-human interaction, implicit in so many of the instances, is subordinated to the special concerns of the behavioral sciences.

A word needs to be said in an introductory way about the kinds of hostility discoverable in the pages of Scripture. Many of the hostility situations in the Bible belong to the type already referred to, the Cain-Abel-God type. For the most part they are both interesting and important for what they say about God and man, for somehow, in the Bible, angry, hostile men and women are always set in relation to something God at the time is doing. To analyze the hostility situation exclusively in terms of the human beings involved is to leave out a significant dimension, that of the divine relation to these human beings, even though that lies at the moment very much in the background.

Absalom's avenging wrath against Amnon for the abuse of his sister, Tamar (2 Sam. 13) is a story of deep human tragedy, as the chapters which follow carefully delineate. Its measure can be fully taken, however, only when one discerns its profoundly disturbing character over against God's continuing purpose which he is pursuing through his elect servant-king, David. The potential of destructive hostility in Absalom's heart seems almost able to thwart the divine purpose, as a large number of the chapters of this book are concerned to narrate. God achieves his purpose

nevertheless. Even the wrath of man must spend its force before it be allowed to delay a sovereign God's aim. That divine sovereignty does not merely manipulate history, however, is seen in the horrible entail of Ammon's passion. Not only is a woman despoiled of her honor; a nation and people is almost slain.

Instances of human hostility recorded in the Bible are instructive, then, at several levels. They tell us something about God, about his nature and purpose. They tell us a number of things about man. Man's capacity for hostile expression toward other men is seen as a natural fact, but the natural is already controlled by sinful predilections. The expression of anger is not viewed as sinful per se. It is a natural capacity which can serve good or ill, though its passional character, as we shall note later, lends itself only too easily to irrational, sinful use.

A second general type of human hostility is that directed against God himself. The Heidelberg Catechism gives a startling expression to that hostility when it asks in Question 5 whether one can keep all the law of God perfectly. The answer: "No, for by nature I am prone to hate God and my neighbor." The "hate" declared here to be a natural aspect of man's behavior need not be thought of as something of which each man is directly aware. Many persons have quite the opposite opinion concerning their natural sentiments with respect to God and neighbor. They feel that they think quite well of them and in a generalized sense might even be said to love them. Thus in many instances the hostility is not open and recognized for what it is. The Heidelberg's reading of Scripture declares, nevertheless, that man's natural attitude toward God and neighbor is not of the kind that seeks the genuine good of the other.

The typical sermon on this question and answer of the Heidelberg has little difficulty securing illustrative evidence of a widespread hostility on the part of man toward God and other men. The evidence is impressive, indeed. But no amassing of evidence can establish empirically that the natural tendency of all men is to hate God and neighbor. There are, in fact, astonishing examples of self-sacrificial love outside the realm of redemptive grace. The Heidelberg really flails at the point of attempting to personalize a universal sinful condition, as if to say, "This is how it comes out." But it frequently does not come out that way at all. The fundamental reason for this is that none of us appears in historical experience with the original sinful nature of man. Cultural forces and influences of great variety have exercised their formative power to render that nature something quite different, and let us say, more acceptable, than original human nature in its nakedness could possibly have been. Traces of the original sinful condition can always be discerned, however, even in the "best of men."

It can be said that man displays hostility toward God by his usual and ordinary rejection of the way God has appointed for his life and salvation. One need only observe the incredulity with which the preaching of the gospel is received in innumerable instances, or the manner in which the Bible is universally honored but not believed. In biblical times such rejection of God's way, either explicitly or implicitly, was widespread. Both Testaments record in large scale the tragic fact: most men prefer to go their own way. Hostility is rarely directed against the person of God, but his ambassadors--prophets and apostles, evangelists, teachers, and other witnesses--are surrogate for him. Jesus declared it

so when he said, "He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him who sent me" (Matt. 10:40; cf. John 13:20).

Even the people of the Covenant need to be reminded again and again to walk in God's ways. Time and again they do not. A large part of the biblical narrative is given over to the detailing of the unfaithfulness of God's people--even when they frequently imagine that they are remaining true. Perhaps this kind of veiled hostility is the most perilous of all for man. Unwilling or unable to face the fact of his tragic disobedience, he rationalizes the alternate paths he adopts for himself into courses of action God, in the nature of the case, ought to approve.

Perhaps this is why the disclosure of the divine way is set out so clearly, so that no one can mistake it or substitute another course for it. When Paul proclaims the way and mind of the Spirit over against the way and mind of the "flesh" (here flesh represents the fallen, sinful condition of man in which the natural appetites control him), he can say without equivocation, "The mind that is set on the flesh is hostile to God; it does not submit to God's law, indeed it cannot" (Rom. 8:7).

We must pass now to the area of our primary concern, to those kinds of hostility in the Bible in which the instruction concerning its meaning and purpose is given, in one form or other, by God. Such instruction is furnished basically in two ways. The first and perhaps most obvious form is that of the divine action itself. God becomes angry, or Jesus becomes angry. Interestingly for Trinitarian Christians, the Holy Spirit is not pictured as being angry at any time, though he might be grieved or quenched (Eph. 4:30; 1 Thess. 5:19). The second form of instruction is that in which something is said about anger, either in mere statement of the fact of it and the use to which it is put, or in instruction concerning it. We shall consider each of these in turn, looking first to the anger of God; then to the anger of the God-man, Jesus Christ, and then to the anger of men in the service of God.

The Anger of God

There has been a long running argument in the history of the church as to whether the Scriptural references to God's anger or wrath are to be taken literally, or whether they are to be looked upon as anthropomorphisms--human ways of talking about God, or more exactly, the imputing of human ways to God. The basic question has been, "Is God passible or impassible?" While the term passible refers primarily to the act of suffering, it can, by extension, refer to the inner suffering occasioned by hostile feelings. J.K. Mozley, in his book, The Impassibility of God,¹ reviews the long history of the argument. We cannot go into it here; it is exceedingly complicated and detailed. If there is any single impression left with this reader of Mozley's volume, it is that the traditions of Greek philosophy have had entirely too much to do with the development of Christian theology, in this area as in many others.

The Greek tradition in Christian theology has sought as diligently to purge Christian thinking of non-intellectual elements as Plato tried to eradicate unworthy notions of divinity from Greek education. Christian thinkers in the early centuries of Christianity found the Greek speculative mode highly attractive. They formulated their views of God and of Christ

in the sophisticated metaphysical manner, until, in many instances, the connection between the philosophical idea of the deity and the biblical picture of God might be said to have become "purely coincidental." Once the metaphysical mode of reasoning about God had become established, it only remained to refine the view and draw out further implications of it. Aquinas' Aristotelian "unmoved Mover" God is a case in point, a deity before whose consciousness without remaining potential all things which ever were or shall be stand statically in a totum simul. One of the glories of Luther's and Calvin's thinking is their relative freedom from metaphysical conceptions of deity, though both are guilty in part of allowing certain biblical ideas to fall into the control of Greek pre-conceptions.

The whole long, and often unhappy, story of the argument about God's impassibility cannot be dealt with here. We may at least note, however, that some theological scholars are hard at work to recover a true biblical view of things revealed. It is not clear at the present time whether theology can know a legitimate structure without the tools, methodologies, and helpful terms of the Greek enterprise. Our discussion here about the possibility of a genuine emotion of hostility in God's person may serve to illustrate some of the difficulties. It must not be left out of account that other emotional feelings besides that of anger, particularly that of love, are also in view, though we shall not have space to speak of them directly.

Certainly the wrath of God is not to be understood literally as a subjective event in the being of God, equivalent to the anger of men, or of the same general character. Even Calvin, who has been caricatured often enough concerning his views of the divine wrath, was concerned to avoid that kind of literal rendering of the Scriptures. In his commentary on Romans 1:18 he says:

The word wrath, according to the usage of Scripture, speaking after the manner of men, means the vengeance of God; for God, in punishing, has, according to our notion, the appearance of one in wrath. It imports, therefore, no such emotion in God, but only has a reference to the perception and feeling of the sinner who is punished.²

Brunner is in agreement:

.... this wrath is not an emotion which resembles anything we know in human experience; it is the inevitable necessary reaction of the will of God to all that opposes Him.³

Neither is the wrath of God to be understood as being simply the automatic reaction of the objective order of reality against factors exercising themselves against the divine will. This is a common view today, especially among those tending to highly rationalistic interpretations of reality. Frequently "natural law" theories include this notion. Reinhold Niebuhr has given it succinct expression: "The wrath of God is the world in its essential structure reacting against the sinful corruptions of that structure. . . ." ⁴

C.H. Dodd deals extensively with this conception of divine anger in his book, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. He argues that Paul never used the verb, "to be angry," with God as subject.⁵ It is quite different with the love, grace, and faithfulness of God, where God is said to love us, deal graciously with us, and to be faithful. Secondly, Paul used the expression, "the Wrath of God," only three times (Rom. 1:18; Col. 3:6; Eph. 5:6), but he constantly used "wrath," or "the Wrath," in a curiously

impersonal way. So, for example, "children of wrath," "day of wrath," "the wrath to come."

Thirdly, in several passages "the Wrath" is used in an absolute manner, almost like a proper noun. So 1 Thessalonians 2:16; Romans 5:9; 12:19; 13:5, and especially Romans 3:5 (literally, "that God is unjust who brings upon men the Wrath").

Dodd comments: "It would therefore be in place here if to Paul 'the Wrath' meant, not a certain feeling or attitude of God towards us, but some process or effect in the realm of objective facts."⁶ He traces the development of the notion of divine anger from the oldest parts of the Old Testament to its far more rational and refined conception in the New Testament. He finds that Paul retained the idea, "not to describe the attitude of God to man, but to describe an inevitable process of cause and effect in a moral universe"⁷

While it cannot be questioned that there is a considerable difference between the conception of wrath in the Old Testament in its "oldest parts," and its representations in the New Testament, Dodd certainly ascribes to Paul a stance of philosophical reflection for which there is no basis in the deeply religious writings of Paul. Within the limits of what we know about Paul's mind we can credit him with a view of the divine anger in which God is not simply angry as men are angry, with its large ability to distort truth. God is not angry like that. But at the same time the "wrath" is not merely an automatic function of the structure of reality. Professor John Knox has put it this way:

We must avoid going so far. . . as to make the term refer merely to an automatic effect of sin and not also to an imposed penalty for sin. 'The Wrath' is in the last resort God's wrath, even though, as Dodd shows, the name of God is often not used in connection with it. We cannot 'absolve' God of responsibility for judgment without accepting in effect the Marcionite belief in two Gods--one of judgment and the other of love. Sin. . . is bondage, but it is also transgression; and the death which follows upon it is not only the result of the bondage; it is also God's judgment upon the transgression. The wrath, Paul says, is breaking forth from heaven.⁸

Neither is the wrath of God to be understood as the reflection of purely human feelings of dread, fear, uncertainty, disturbed conscience, and so on. This view has long been a favorite of proponents of "psychology of religion" theories of the essential nature of religion. Numerous others have also held this view. Rudolf Otto, in The Idea of the Holy, did much to make the notion intellectually respectable, though with special reference to more primitive stages of any religion.

While the accuracy of this interpretation cannot be denied when it is applied to the purely human situation in which people "feel" God is angry with them, it cannot serve as an explanation of the biblical assertion that God does, on occasion, become angry with men. Even Christians frequently confuse the two, imputing to God an emotion which is actually their own psychological state. Perhaps no one who believes God capable of wrath can always distinguish, without fail, between the actual exercise of divine anger and his own subjective states, when there is firm reason for feeling that the former might legitimately be expressed.

Against the above views we find it necessary to affirm that the wrath of God is a genuine activity of God, and that it represents the invariable reaction of God's holy nature toward all that opposes his divine will. It is a definite corollary of the fact that God is holy. God must express his anger against any failure to do his holy will, or to put it the other way around, whatever opposes God must experience his holy wrath. As Brunner has noted, God takes the fact that he is God "seriously."⁹ Therefore he must resist that which resists him.

God's anger is distinguished by one biblical writer as his "strange work" (Isa. 28:21) from his work of justifying grace in behalf of sinners, his proper work. ". . . strange is his deed! . . . alien is his work!", as the Revised Standard Version puts it. His anger does not rise from his primary will toward man; it may be said to be forced on him by the sinful resistance of man. Sin makes God show himself as the wrathful God. It is, in other words, a demand of his love, a fact never more dramatically proclaimed than by the prophet Hosea. As Eichrodt says,

Unlike holiness or righteousness, wrath never forms one of the permanent attributes of the God of Israel; it can only be understood as, so to speak, a footnote to the will to fellowship of the covenant God.¹⁰

It would require little less than a lengthy treatise, such as A.T. Hanson's The Wrath of the Lamb,¹¹ to deal at all adequately with the idea of the divine anger in Scripture. Some aspects of that anger, as it affects moral conceptions, will be before us in a moment. Our conclusion about the divine anger itself affirms that, like the love of God, the divine anger is both a real activity or action, and a force of varying emotional power. Like the divine love, God's anger is not to be thought of as being, in its essence, an emotion of God, but rather as a factor of emotional force attending his action, now negative, toward men.

If the scriptural revelation of the nature of God is to be accepted at all, it will have to be accepted on its fearful, awesome side, as well as in its more delightful aspects. Like the love of God, the divine anger does not always submit itself to neat, rational descriptions. As with other truths of the Bible, there is evidence of development in the refinement and spiritualizing of the idea. It is not always found in the service of "retributive justice," though that is certainly its principal function. The idea is never given up, for a God who judges, who penalizes sin, cannot do these things unless he himself is involved in one way or another in the expression of feeling against sin and in the laying of the penalties.

The Anger of Jesus

One feels a natural reluctance to ascribe the emotion of hostility to Jesus. We should like to translate "hostility," which carries some rather base connotations, into "anger," and then quickly qualify it with "righteous"--anger. That seems, at least, a bit softer. We cannot forget that some liberal scholars used the instances of Jesus' expressed hostility to establish the claim that Jesus, for all his high moral and spiritual attainment, was chargeable with at least the lesser forms of fallibility and sin. Jesus had, like any other self-respecting human being, "lost his head" on occasion. Their presupposition was, of course, that all anger necessarily entailed sin.

That hostility toward others was occasionally given expression by Jesus cannot be denied. One thinks at once of Jesus' "cleansing of the temple" (Matt. 21:12-13; Mark 11:15-17; Luke 19:45-46; John 2:14-16). Jesus' hostility is readily inferred from the charged atmosphere suggested by the brief narrative. It seems incredible that the sharp, authoritative driving out of the moneychangers and pigeon vendors with a whip made of cords could have been accomplished without some of the energy derived from an emotional outburst.

A similar impression is gained from Jesus' long tirade against the scribes and Pharisees recorded in Matthew 23:1-36. Jesus used strong language in this epic of condemnation. The objects of his wrathful evaluation are not merely scribes and Pharisees. To this is regularly added--"hypocrites!" They make their proselytes twice the children of hell they themselves are (vs. 15). They are "blind guides" (vs. 16), "blind fools" (vs. 17), like "whitewashed tombs" (vs. 27); they are "serpents" and a "brood of vipers" (vs. 33). They cannot escape being "sentenced to hell" (vs. 33). One can almost feel the whiplash of Jesus' fury as he scourges his foes with his tongue.

Yet surprisingly, nowhere in any of these passages above is Jesus said to be angry. Only in Mark 3:5 do we read that Jesus was angry--"he looked around at them with anger, grieved at their hardness of heart" Much later the "wrath of the Lamb" would be spoken of, in the unfolding of the grand eschatological drama of judgment (Rev. 6:16).

The hostile attitudes and deeds of the sinless Jesus Christ are instructive at the very least at the point of making clear that such emotion does not carry the necessary stain of sin, that the emotional force exhibited in wrath may well serve God's cause (cf. John 2:7 with reference to the temple cleansing--"Zeal for thy house will consume me"). Jesus had declared, ". . . I have come down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me" (John 6:38). Apparently there were times when that will was served best when declarations of hostility by word and deed made terribly clear the lines along which the judgment of God was falling. The whole thing might well serve to remind the church of our time that her frequently pusillanimous temporizing with sin in and out of her boundaries is somewhat out of accord with her Lord's mood. I am not asking for an increase of pulpit fulminations against sin. A present-day "whip of cords" will have to have more body to it than that.

One other point. Too often interpreters have imputed the revealed nature of God to Jesus by a process of simple logical transfer. After all, are they not both God? Thus it has been concluded by some that Jesus' anger must be very like God's anger, and in fact, virtually the same. God cannot, in the nature of the case, have an emotional system in which psychological processes have their frequent play. Then neither can Jesus be said to display psychological process. As with the anthropomorphisms concerning God, sharp emotional reactions ascribed by the Gospel accounts to Jesus must be very human ways of speaking of factors which are essentially divine in character.

Interpretation of this kind fails to take the incarnational fact seriously. In the mood of the ancient Alexandrians it seeks at every point to protect the God-man, on his divine side, from presumptuous invasion from the human side. The former must at all costs keep the latter in rigid control, so much so that the human factor is far more a thing of verbal predication than of flesh and blood reality. The Gospels, however,

present Jesus Christ, the God-man, as a unity of dynamic life in which there is no possibility of discrimination on our part between a discrete divine component and a discrete human component. Jesus Christ became angry. On occasion he showed hostility. There was no sinful admixture in it, but we had better not try to explain it away. To do so is to take something very essential away from the Gospel picture of him.

The Function of Human Hostility in the Divine Program

There is an obvious peril attached to the "imitation" of the anger of God, whether that be attempted by the church or by any of her members. There have been tragic instances in the past, as in the medieval crusade against the Jews, when God's people thought they were only helping him by seeking to implement his anger against its proper objects. The logic appeared to be simple. The Jews were largely responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. God had indicated the penalties his people would suffer if they took a wrong course. They had taken it, and now they must suffer. Some other forms of anti-semitism have been more subtle, even in twentieth century America.

Secondly, the Christian must distinguish, as God does, between the guilty sinner and the sin which has despoiled him. In his New Testament commentaries the Lutheran, R.C.H. Lenski, emphasizes the two elements that are found in the New Testament agape (tr. "love"). There is, first, understanding, and second, God's adoption of a purposive action corresponding to that understanding. Almost all of us fail to deal with people as God does with any kind of regularity. More often than not we identify the sinner with his sin--and condemn both.

But God discerns his own image beneath the layers of sin. He sees one who is never out of relationship with himself, though he may be completely out of fellowship with him. God acts redemptively in his behalf, for that is his purpose in salvation, to call to his side one who has been far away. The Christian's failure to distinguish between sin and the sinner, resulting often in an open or concealed hatred of sinners, is part of the bankruptcy of the church in her action over against the world.

Thirdly, believers and the church need to exercise themselves to the greatest possible extent in removing the apparent causes of the divine anger, whether those causes be found in the Christian's own conduct, or in that of other persons, or in society in general. When the Christian begins "at home" in such matters, a proper humility may possibly be induced before he take up the conflict elsewhere. He is always in the paradoxical situation of fighting the evils in his own life which can be really removed only by the forgiveness of God. Yet without that fighting on his part there is not likely to be the forgiveness of God for him. Certainly the deeply serious Christian is daily concerned to find in himself (though not in the sense of unhealthy introspection) whatever may be opposed to God's will, and finding it, to contend against it.

Dealing with the causes of the divine anger in others can be a very perilous game. To do so with genuine sympathy and understanding ("restore him in a spirit of gentleness", Gal. 6:1), bearing his burden (vs. 2), and not entering into judgment against him, is an art and a grace relatively few can perform without some damage to the other. Nevertheless

the church has too often betrayed her timidity in this area by consigning the work of recovering the erring brother or sister to the "professionals" (i.e., ministers). Multitudes of Christians have been unskilled in the contention against the other's sin because they have not been expected to do anything about it.

The task of laboring with the faults of others, so that wrong-doers may be recovered for the glory of Christ and the blessing of his church, to say nothing of the wrongdoer's own benefit, demands from the one who seeks to help a genuine identification with him whom he would show the restorative mercies of Christ. Such identification is not a simple matter, for identification can never be so complete that one is encompassed by the very corruption he is contending against. But neither can it so slight that the one needing help is more aware of a "righteous model" in his presence than of a fellow sinner who daily stands in need of God's helping grace.

When one contends against the sins of society--for here also God must often be displeased--he is, in a way, contending against himself. He himself is deeply involved in, or implicated with, the society of which he is a member, with its guilt and wrongdoing. Thus he does not "stand over against" the community as one judging righteously, and condemning, in the name of God, but identifies himself with the community's fault, accepting his share of the blame, and seeks the aid of all who are willing, with God's help, to contend against the dark, so often unmanageable evil in their midst.

Every now and again in the history of the church a Savonarola-like figure has risen on the scene to pronounce God's judgment upon the human race. Some have accomplished a small good. The greater good has come from those who, though perhaps going forth like Jonah to pronounce judgment, instead preached God's righteousness with fear and trembling, seeking the breaking of hearts that spells repentance--and with it, restoration.

We conclude by remarking once more upon the perils regularly associated with contending against the evils in self, the other, and in the world, which rouse hostile reaction in God. One cannot engage in that enterprise with psychological strength unless he take to himself a like hostility, one which, hopefully, is like God's. One which, hopefully, is a legitimate "righteous indignation." He must become angry at times if he is to reflect that element in his God, Father and Son. At the same time he must be ever so careful that his just wrath does not become converted into the "anger of man", that prideful, self-seeking, destructive thing which James cautioned about when he said, "be slow to anger, for the anger of man does not work the righteousness of God" (Jas. 1:19).

Paul seemed similarly concerned about the inherent dangers of anger in the human spirit. "Be angry," he said, "but do not sin; do not let the sun go down on your anger, and give no opportunity to the devil" (Eph. 4:26-27). Hostility in the Christian's heart has its place; there are occasions when it can serve God and advance the Kingdom. In fact, it had better be found in the Christian at times, lest he appear to be cowardly and craven. But make it brief! Get it over with as soon as its task is accomplished! It's a dangerous thing, and the span of its righteous service is severely limited. The devil lurks just around the corner. He'd like to take up the emotional fury of the Christian's anger

into his own service and cause.

The Christian stands in the paradoxical situation of having to contend against sin because God hates it, without at the same time contending against the sinner, whom God loves. This is true especially in his personal relationships. Jesus counseled directly against the old notion, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" (Matt. 5:38). "Do not resist one who is evil. But if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" (vs. 39). "Love your enemies," he said, "and pray for those who persecute you" (vs. 44). Paul took up the same refrain: "Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse them" (Rom. 12:14). "Repay no one evil for evil, but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all" (vs. 17). ". . . never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord'" (vs. 19). "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" (vs. 21).

Both Jesus and Paul are speaking here in the context of interpersonal relationships. More than one interpreter has failed to note this limitation and has extended the range of these ideas to the corporate relationships belonging to social groups. Pacifists have regularly applied these notations about personal conduct to the relationships obtaining among nations and states. The Bible in both testaments, however, distinguishes between God's will for personal relationships and his will for the state, an entity which has its appointment by him. The law for one is not necessarily the law for the other. In fact, it is frequently a quite different thing.

In our own time Dietrich Bonhoeffer concluded that Adolf Hitler was not simply a bad man to whom one might, on a purely individual basis, do some good. He had become in his own person a veritable antichrist, the embodiment of the demonic, evil state set in its awful tyranny against human life, to say nothing of God. Bonhoeffer entered into the conspiracy against Hitler's life with the consciousness that he was doing the will of God. If there was hate in his heart, it appears to have been veiled in pity. Perhaps he was wrong; we do not know. He was right, however, in the careful distinction he made between the person of Hitler, and the demonic entity he had become.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 J.K. Mozeley, The Impassibility of God (Cambridge University Press, 1926).
- 2 John Owen translation (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849).
- 3 Emil Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of God (E.T., Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), p. 161.
- 4 Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), II, 56.
- 5 C.H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932)--Dodd's discussion of these terms is found on pages 21 and 22.
- 6 Ibid., p. 22.
- 7 Ibid., p 23.
- 8 In exegesis of "The Epistle to the Romans" (on 1:18), in The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. IX (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1954), p. 397.
- 9 Brunner, op. cit., p. 161.
- 10 Walther Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament (E.T. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), p. 262.
- 11 Anthony Tyrell Hanson, The Wrath of the Lamb (London: S.P.C.K., 1957).

MANAGEMENT OF HOSTILITY AND VERBAL
FUNCTIONING IN COLLEGE MALES

by

Richard Westmaas, Ph.D.*

(Based upon a doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962)

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between individual differences in patterns of managing hostility and verbal functioning in a situation in which hostility is aroused. As compared with studies emphasizing the situational determinants of the expression of hostility, the present investigation focused attention on individual differences in response to an objectively constant hostility-provoking situation. In this study, individual differences in the expression of hostility are seen primarily as manifestations of different methods of managing hostility, and are assumed to represent relatively enduring patterns of behavior. The existence of a relationship between the management of hostility and verbal functioning in a frustrating situation was inferred from psychoanalytic formulations of the processes involved in impulse inhibition, as well as from Miller's approach-avoidance conflict model. These formulations suggested that individuals characterized by a relatively inhibitory method of managing hostility experience difficulty in the production of words associated with the expression of hostility. That such individuals may also be at a disadvantage in producing words not inherently related to aggression was inferred from the possibility of a generalization of the processes involved in the inhibition of hostility. Although such relationships have been observed in clinical settings, there has been no previous attempt to investigate these relationships in a controlled experiment which provides for the objective measurement of the variables involved. This study was therefore an attempt to provide a more rigorous test than has previously been conducted of the proposed relationships between the management of hostility and verbal productivity.

Two hypotheses were formulated as a means of subjecting the proposed relationships to an empirical test:

Hypothesis 1: Upon exposure to a hostility arousing situation, individuals identified as inhibiting hostility will produce fewer hostile words in a standard unit of time than individuals who tend to express hostility.

Hypothesis 2: Upon exposure to a hostility arousing situation, individuals identified as inhibiting hostility will produce fewer neutral

*Dr. Richard Westmaas is a clinical psychologist at Pine Rest Christian Hospital, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Dr. Westmaas received his Ph.D. degree from Michigan State University.

words in a standard unit of time than individuals who tend to express hostility.

In testing these hypotheses, a sample was drawn from among male students enrolled in introductory psychology classes at Michigan State University. Eighty Ss were seen in individual experimental sessions. Ss were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions, termed the high arousal (HA) and low arousal (LA) conditions. Prior to verbal production tasks, the 40 HA Ss were frustrated by contriving their failure on a test said to predict creative potential, and by the experimenter's harassing and insulting behavior. For the 40 Ss in the LA group, frustration prior to verbal production was minimal. The verbal production tasks consisted of oral production of words in restricted categories. The hostile word category consisted of words used to describe someone whom one hates or dislikes, such as: dope, stupid, ugly, etc. The neutral word category consisted of words ending in a-t-i-o-n, such as: nation, station, elevation, etc. The number of words produced in each category within a three-minute period constituted the dependent measures of verbal productivity. Measures of the management of hostility were obtained near the end of the experiment, immediately following a procedure for inducing hostility which was standard for all Ss. These measures consisted of: (1) ratings on a post-experimental questionnaire which provided for the expression of hostility in unfriendly reactions to the experimenter and in unfavorable evaluations of the testing situation or the experiment, and (2) extrapunitive responses on a modified, multiple choice version of the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Test, which was administered in equivalent halves before and after frustration.

A comparison of the HA and LA groups on the post-experimental questionnaire ratings indicated that the HA Ss were considerably more hostile than the LA Ss in response to the experimental procedures. This finding was taken as evidence of the effectiveness of the arousal procedure in producing the required hostility in the HA group, and also as support for the validity of the post-experimental questionnaire. The failure of the PF Test to reliably discriminate between HA and LA Ss was interpreted as casting further doubt on the validity of a technique that has been shown by other investigators to have serious weaknesses.

The hypotheses to be tested concerned only the relationships between hostility scores and verbal production measures in the HA group. The method of testing the hypotheses was to compare the number of words produced by Ss whose hostility scores fell above the group median (expressors) with that of Ss who received hostility scores below the group median (inhibitors). Support for the hypotheses was contingent upon finding that inhibitors produced fewer hostile words and fewer neutral words than expressors. The results bearing on the hypotheses may be summarized as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Total hostility scores derived from ratings on the post-experimental questionnaire failed to show a positive relation with the production of hostile words. On the contrary, this analysis revealed a non-significant trend for low scoring Ss to produce more words of both categories than high scoring Ss. A separate analysis of the items on the evaluation questionnaire revealed that ratings of unfriendliness to the experimenter were highly related to the production of hostile words ($p.01$), whereas ratings providing more indirect expressions of hostility showed a tendency to relate negatively to hostile word production. (see Table 1). Ss who obtained an increased number of extrapunitive responses

on the PF Test after frustration did not differ significantly from other Ss in number of hostile words produced, although the obtained differences were in the predicted direction.

Hypothesis 2: Neither total hostility scores from the post-experimental questionnaire nor any of the separate items of the evaluation questionnaire showed a significantly positive relation to the production of neutral words. No appreciable relationship was found between increased extrapunitiveness on the PF Test and production of neutral words.

The negative findings in regard to the second hypothesis were interpreted as casting serious doubt on the proposition that the individual who tends to inhibit hostility is characterized by a relative lack of fluency with words not inherently related to the expression of hostility.

In interpreting the results bearing on the first hypothesis, it was considered significant that ratings expressing hostility directly toward the instigator relate positively to the production of hostile words, whereas more indirect expressions of hostility tend to relate negatively. These findings were regarded as providing some support for the first hypothesis, while at the same time suggesting an additional refinement of this hypothesis. On the basis of these findings, it was suggested that it is not the indiscriminate expression of hostility, but the ability to express hostility directly toward the instigator that relates positively to the ability to produce hostile words when frustrated. These results were seen as consistent with psychoanalytic theory and with a variation of Miller's approach-avoidance conflict model which assumes the presence of individual differences in avoidance tendencies. Attention was called to the possible significance of proficiency with hostile verbalizations as affecting patterns of managing hostility. The failure to obtain the significant differences predicted in comparing Ss who showed different directions of change in the number of PF extrapunitive responses after frustration was taken as a reflection of the relatively low validity of this instrument. It was pointed out that the sample chosen represents a group in which social expectations confine hostility largely to verbal aggression, and that generalizations from the findings of this study must be confined to the population from which the sample was drawn. Present findings are regarded as indicating the need for further research in this area.

The design of this study also permitted comparisons within the LA group. An evaluation of the extent of the relationship between the management of hostility and verbal productivity among LA Ss revealed non-significant trends of essentially the same relationships which were exhibited in the HA group. In discussing these results, conclusions were qualified by the possibility that a less valid identification of individual differences in the management of hostility was secured in the LA condition.

A comparison of the HA and LA groups also permitted an evaluation of the effects of frustration on verbal productivity, exclusive of individual differences. The results showed that frustrated Ss produced more words of both categories than non-frustrated Ss. That the motivating effect of frustration was more transient for neutral words was seen as consistent with the assumption that greater inhibition is associated with the production of hostile words in the presence of the instigator.

Table 1

Mean Production of Neutral and Hostile Words by Ss Scoring Above and Below the Median on Each of the Ratings on the Post-Experimental Evaluation Questionnaire.

Questionnaire Item	High Arousal Group			Low Arousal Group	
	HW	NW		HW	NW
Reaction to E					
Friendly (Range 3-57)	16.85	14.75	Range (2-25)	16.25	12.00
Unfriendly (59-87)	23.90	15.10	(28-67)	18.45	13.15
t	3.22	.25		1.01	.87
Effect of E's behavior					
Favorable (0-66)	20.00	14.95	(3-50)	16.25	12.90
Unfavorable (67-90)	20.71	14.90	(51-98)	18.45	12.55
t	.29	-.03		1.01	.27
Effect of test. situation					
Favorable (15-60)	22.10	16.00	(2-33)	16.25	12.90
Unfavorable (61-98)	18.65	13.85	(35-84)	17.00	12.71
t	-1.47	-1.59		-.34	-.06
Value of Experiment					
Valuable (4-50)	21.90	16.15	(11-38)	17.70	13.35
Worthless (51-96)	18.68	13.70	(39-94)	17.00	12.00
t	-1.36	-1.82		-.32	-1.06
Participate Again					
Willing (0-25)	22.25	15.25	(2-13)	18.50	14.05
Unwilling (31-100)	18.50	14.60	(14.78)	16.20	11.40
t	-1.61	-.47		-1.06	-2.15

Note.- $t_{.05} = 2.02$; $t_{.01} = 2.70$ (Two-tailed)

MANAGEMENT OF HOSTILITY IN ADULT MALES WITH MIGRAINE HEADACHE

Leonard, Vander Linde, Ph.D.

Consulting Psychologist

Private Practice; Grand Rapids, Michigan

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the significance of suppression of hostility as a personality attribute of individuals who have a history of migraine headache. Suppression is defined as a psychic process which functions as an adjustive mechanism in the management of hostile impulses. For purposes of this study, it is inferred from the inhibition of the overt, social expression of hostility and the appearance of heightened physiological tension. The overt behavior expressive of hostility is designated as aggression. Thus, the general purpose of this study is an investigation of the management of aggression in persons who are prone to migraine.

Migraine as a specific form of headache has been described as a clinical entity for centuries. Although the disorder was recognized early, its etiology remains in dispute. Causation has been variously ascribed to humoral, gastric, neural, constitutional, hereditary, or emotional factors. The role of emotional factors has received increasing attention, particularly in relationship to personality features of persons susceptible to migraine, and has led to a consideration of migraine as a psychosomatic disorder. Exploratory psychoanalytic case studies have suggested that a characteristic psychodynamic feature of persons with migraine is the suppression of rage. Suppression is considered to be significant in both the personality structure of such persons and in the precipitation of a migraine attack. These formulations find support in such sources as: (1) the clinical observations of analysts, including the observation that a migraine attack may occur and terminate during a single treatment session, when hostility or rage is relieved by use of appropriate verbalizations; (2) studies dealing with the characteristic personality features of migraine-prone individuals; (3) observations of the events typically antecedent to an attack.

The need to suppress hostility is seen as stemming from childhood experiences of deprivations of affection, which become a source of hostility, anxiety, and insecurity feelings in the child. The expression of the hostility, thus engendered, is inhibited because of fears of retaliation and further alienation. The child learns to alleviate anxiety and obtain the rewards of recognition, attention, and transient affection by excelling in those areas of performance most meaningful to the parent. The elaboration of his childhood pattern of constant, intense effort to do more or better than others results in a driving, perfectionistic, success-oriented personality. This pattern produces few rewards, in terms of affection from others, and a chronic resentment or hostility ensues. Whenever additional hostility-evoking stimuli impinge on this chronic resentment, rigid control is required to inhibit the bursting through of the deeper, explosive hostility.

This research investigation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the Department of Psychology at Boston University Graduate School in 1955. 34

It is inferred that such persons are, by virtue of their personalities, particularly vulnerable to hostility, i.e., they tend to react to situations involving threat, failure, or rejection with a feeling of hostility; and they tend to inhibit the overt, social expression of the experienced hostility. The aroused hostility produces a state of tension which is accompanied by an alteration in physiologic equilibrium. The inhibition of action to relieve tension contributes to both an increase in tension and its subsequent maintenance. While neither aggressive impulses nor the process of suppression are observed exclusively in migraine-prone persons, the consistent use of this mechanism has been considered a distinguishing feature of the personality of such persons.

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses formulated in terms of the derived consequences of suppression, and tested in this investigation are:

- (1) When aroused by an aggression-provoking situation, migraine-prone individuals will be in a state of increased tension as manifested in heightened muscle tension and increased heart rate, relative to a group of non-migraine-prone individuals.
- (2) When aroused by an aggression-provoking situation, migraine-prone individuals will verbalize less aggression relative to a group of non-migraine-prone individuals.
- (3) When aroused by an aggression-provoking situation, migraine-prone individuals will remain at a higher level of muscle tension and heart rate, for a comparable period of time, relative to a group of non-migraine-prone individuals.

METHOD

Since the independent variable of this study was susceptibility to migraine, variation was accomplished by the selection of a migraine and a non-migraine or control group. The migraine group consisted of twenty-six subjects with a history of migraine headaches. The control group consisted of twenty-six subjects with the symptoms of hay fever and/or asthma. All subjects were outpatient, male veterans with no major additional medical or surgical problems. Selection based on these criteria served as a control for the possible effects any of these variables might have on the dependent variables of the experiment. The groups were also similar with respect to age, education, and occupational level.

The evocation of hostility was inferred from the nature of the aggression-provoking situation, increased tension, and the obtaining of aggression as a response. The aggression-provoking situation consisted of the Wisconsin Card Sorting Test amended for use in this research by the inclusion of punishment for failure in performance. Failure was predetermined by establishing an arbitrary order of correct and incorrect sorts. Punishment for failure consisted of a two second buzzing and, at specific points, a berating of the subject for his performance, administered by the writer.

Suppression was inferred from obtaining the expected consequences, i.e., greater tension arousal in persons prone to migraine, inhibition of verbalized aggression, and a subsequent maintenance of tension.

Physiological tension is defined as an increase in the action potential of the frontalis muscle and increased heart rate. The measure of muscle tension was the integrated potentials, recorded as pips by an electronic integrator-computer. The measure of heart rate was the number of beats per minute recorded by EKG.

Expressed aggression is defined in this study by the extrapunitive scores (E responses) on the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Test and the aggressive responses to a Questionnaire. The Rosenzweig P-F was modified from a free response to a multiple choice instrument. The responses to the Questionnaire, designed for this experiment, were judged for aggression by three clinical psychologists. A response was considered aggressive when a majority of the psychologists so rated it.

The hypotheses were tested by comparing the groups on their psychological and physiological reactions to the experimental situation.

RESULTS

The first hypothesis stated that when aroused by an aggression-provoking situation, the migraine-prone group would show greater muscle tension and heart rate than the control group. From the raw data, individual mean pip counts and heart beats per minute were calculated for each phase of activity. Group means were calculated from these data for the periods of activity analyzed, i.e., initial rest, stress, final rest. The comparisons of the groups were made and interpreted on the basis of the differences between these group means. The groups were found to be comparable on the initial rest for both muscle tension and heart rate. On the basis of a t-test of difference between means of the stress period, the appropriate null hypothesis was rejected at .001 level of significance for both physiological measures, thus supporting the experimental hypothesis.

The second hypothesis stated that the migraine-prone group would verbalize less aggression, relative to the control group. To control for group differences in tendency to select extrapunitive responses, the Rosenzweig P-F was presented in equivalent halves pre and post stress. Equivalence was controlled by presentation in an ABBA order. Increase in extrapunitiveness was defined with respect to the pre-stress selection of such responses for each subject. On the basis of Chi-square comparison of increase in E responses, the null hypothesis of independence was rejected at .01 level of significance on the Rosenzweig P-F, thus supporting the experimental hypothesis. These results are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

CHI-SQUARE COMPARISON OF THE DIRECTION OF THE DIFFERENCE IN THE ROSENZWEIG
P-F EXTRAPUNITIVE SCORE POST-STRESS COMPARED WITH PRE-STRESS
SCORE FOR THE MIGRAINE AND CONTROL SUBJECTS

	Increased E	No Change in E	Decreased E	
Migraine	4	15	7	26
Control	22	3	1	26
TOTAL	26	18	8	52

Chi-Square = 25.00

d.f. = 2

p = .001

On the basis of a Chi-square median test of the aggressive responses to the Questionnaire, the null hypothesis of independence was rejected at the .01 level of significance, thus supporting the experimental hypothesis. These results are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

CHI-SQUARE COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF MIGRAINE AND CONTROL SUBJECTS ABOVE
AND BELOW THE MID-POINT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGGRESSIVE
RESPONSES ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE

	Below Midpoint	Above Midpoint	TOTAL
Migraine	17	9	26
Control	9	17	26
TOTAL	26	26	

Chi-square = 5.29

d.f. = 1

p = .02

The third hypothesis stated that the migraine-prone group would remain at a higher level of tension for a comparable period of time, relative to the control group. On the basis of a t-test of difference between means of the final rest period, the appropriate null hypothesis was rejected at .01 level of significance for both muscle tension and heart rate, thus supporting the experimental hypothesis. The results show that all three hypotheses of this study are supported.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings on all three hypotheses tend to support the general hypothesis that suppression is a mechanism emphasized by persons prone to migraine in controlling expression of hostility. The migraine group was aroused to a greater state of tension than the control group; a reaction characterized by faster arousal and, as an average trend, by higher tension. The migraine group expressed less aggression and showed a perseveration of autonomic reactivity indicating continued tension greater than the control group. In general, the results showed that the migraine group was less able to voice direct aggression toward the person or situation which served as a frustrating agent. This inhibition of verbal response was accompanied by a greater tension arousal and a perseveration of this tension as reflected in continued autonomic reactivity.

A suggested formulation of the findings hold that, when confronted with hostility-evoking stimuli, the person prone to migraine, by virtue of suppression, develops excessive tension. He cannot rid himself of such tension by such conscious, integrated means as verbal expression, even when an opportunity for catharsis is available. Consequently, he retains greater than normal tension. This is seen as important in understanding what are, in the broadest sense, psychodynamic relationships in psychosomatic illness. The individual overlap obtained in our groups, however, suggest that additional research is required to ascertain whether the observed reactions are the product of constitutional differences in emotional balance, predisposition to somatic disorders, or other pertinent factors.

THE DYNAMICS OF DEPRESSION

William H. Kooistra, Ph.D.

Chief Psychologist

Pine Rest Christian Hospital

INTRODUCTION

Writers have long concerned themselves with describing the effects of the emotional disorder called depression. The Bible and the writings of William Shakespeare are particularly replete with illustrations describing this disruption in man's affective experience; in fact, Shakespeare's characterization of depression as a "mutiny in the mind" is probably as poignant a description as one could find.

At the outset, it should be noted that depression is a normal emotional response to a personal loss. It assumes psychiatric significance when both by degree and duration it exerts a disruptive effect upon an individual's efforts at adaptive psychological functioning. Clinically speaking, the term depression designates a clinical syndrome consisting of lowering of mood-tone (feelings of painful dejection), difficulty in thinking, and psychomotor retardation (Hinsie & Campbell, 1960). Typical adjectives used to describe this emotional state are dejection, sadness, gloominess, despair, and despondency.

Sigmund Freud was one of the early theorists who pioneered the shift away from simply describing the effects of the depressive illnesses to attempting to formulate a dynamic basis for their occurrence. His theory of depression (Freud, 1917) emphasized intra-personal conflicts engendered by competing motivational needs as representing the etiological basis of depressive symptomatology. Since the individual is unaware of this intra-psychic competition of his own motives, he is in a vulnerable position to adaptively cope with the emerging depressive feelings and symptoms.

The employment of psychological tests has been especially helpful in seeking to better understand the underlying motivational needs which, when in competition for ascendancy, are particularly instrumental in the development of depressive feelings and symptoms. It was with this knowledge in mind that the present study was formulated.

METHOD

In the present study, the degree of an individual's depression was measured by the score that the individual obtained on the Depression-scale (D-scale) of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). This measure of depression was then correlated with the scores that the same individual received on the 15 scales of the Edwards Personal Preference Scale (EPPS), which assesses 15 different areas of an individual's motivational needs. (See Table 1 for a listing of the 15 motivational needs measured by the EPPS). Thus, the present study represents a correlational

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analysis of the relationship of depression (as measured by the D-scale on the MMPI) to 15 areas of motivational needs (as measured by the EPPS).

One-hundred patients (50 male and 50 female) at Pine Rest Christian Hospital composed the sample in the present investigation. Each of the 100 subjects completed both the MMPI and the EPPS as part of a standard test battery upon admission to the Hospital. In an effort to obtain valid and reliable measures of the 16 relevant test variables (D-scale on the MMPI and the 15 EPPS scales), only patients showing a MMPI profile with a F-K ratio of between 0 and -20 and an EPPS profile with a consistency score of 10 or above were included in the present study.

It should be noted that the 100 subjects included in the study were not necessarily diagnosed as being depressed, but rather the degree of depression was empirically established by the patient's score on the D-scale of the MMPI.

RESULTS

The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients between the D-scale on the MMPI and each of the 15 scales on the EPPS are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Correlations with MMPI Depression Scale

EPPS Scale	Males N=50	Females N=50	Combined N=100
N. achievement	.226	.070	.094
N. deference	.148	.158	.168
N. order	.421**	.266	.383**
N. exhibition	.097	-.043	-.004
N. autonomy	.070	.234	.117
N. affiliation	-.101	-.293*	-.095
N. intraception	-.326*	.200	-.086
N. succorance	.360**	.229	.333**
N. dominance	-.240	-.361**	-.349**
N. abasement	.301*	.272	.293**
N. nurturance	.152	-.186	.021
N. change	-.312*	-.273*	-.243*
N. endurance	-.078	.127	.012
N. heterosexuality	-.218	-.086	-.247*
N. aggression	-.420**	-.243	-.381**

* P .05 level

** P .01 level

(two-tailed test)

N=50 $r=.273$ for significance at .05 level

N=100 $r=.195$ for significance at .05 level

N=50 $r=.354$ for significance at .01 level

N=100 $r=.254$ for significance at .01 level

These Correlation Coefficients are presented separately for the 50 males and the 50 females, besides being presented for all 100 subjects with both sexes combined. Each Correlation Coefficient presented in Table 1 represents a correlation of the raw score on the D-scale of the MMPI with raw scores on the 15 EPPS scales.

It should be explained that when a correlation is significant at the .05 level, this means that there exists only a 5 percent probability that some extraneous error variable, such as chance, is responsible for the level of correlation. Similarly, when the correlation is significant at the .01 level, this means that there is only a 1 percent probability of such an error.

Since the average age of the 50 males was 36.04 years and the average age of the 50 females was 38.88 years, age was not considered a relevant variable in the analysis for a sex difference on the 15 EPPS variables.

DISCUSSION

The results, as presented in Table 1, show that there were six significant correlations for the 50 males included in the sample. Depression showed a significant positive correlation with need Order, need Succorance, and need Abasement, and a significant negative correlation with need Intraception, need Change, and need Aggression. Thus, the greater the degree of depression in a male the more likely he is to show elevation in need Order, need Succorance, and need Abasement; while the greater the degree of depression in a male, the less likely he is to show an elevation in need Intraception, need Change, and need Aggression.

For the 50 females included in the sample, depression showed a negative correlation with need Affiliation, need Dominance, and need Change.

Analyzing the data for all 100 subjects (sexes combined), there were 7 significant correlations. It was found that depression showed a significant positive correlation with need Order, need Succorance, and need Abasement; and a significant negative correlation with need Dominance, need Change, need Heterosexuality, and need Aggression.

There was only one EPPS motivational need which displayed a significant sex difference with increasing degree of depression. This was need Intraception, which assesses an individual's motivational need to be analytical in reference to their own and other people's motives, feelings, and behaviors. Need Intraception showed a significant negative correlation ($-.326$) with depression for males and an insignificant positive correlation ($.200$) with depression for females.

Several of the significant correlation coefficients for the combined-sexes group of 100 subjects varify prevalent observations of depressed patients; such as the need to be highly ordered and structured in their functioning, the need to avoid positions and situations of persuasion and dominance, the need to assume an abasing and degrading attitude toward themselves, the need to avoid novel experiences, and the need to avoid heterosexual activity. However, the significant correlations of depression with need Succorance and need Aggression call for a more detailed analysis.

The importance of aggression in the psychodynamic mechanisms of depression has been discussed by numerous writers (Freud, 1917; Gottlieb

& Tourney, 1959; Greenacre, 1953; Rado, 1951). As summarized by Gottlieb & Tourney:

"The common mechanism in depression is the mobilization of aggression and hostility by the loss of a love object, such as the death of a close relative, or a particular narcissistic injury, such as loss of prestige or economic loss. The lost love object has had an ambivalent, hostile dependent significance for the patient, and he reacts to this loss as one of desertion and abandonment rather than in terms of the reality of the situation. Moreover, the depressed individual reacts with guilt to this mobilization of aggression and hostility and is unable to direct these feelings toward the environment. Rather the aggression and hostility is turned against the self which results in the depressed mood. In effect, this has the unconscious meaning of punishment to the self for the original unconscious or disguised feeling of hostility toward the love object."

Since the EPPS scale of need Aggression measures overt, not covert, aggression, it appears that the significant negative correlation between degree of depression and need Aggression ($-.381$) indicates the extent to which the depressed patient must deny any overt aggressive impulses.

The significant positive correlation between depression and need Succorance (.333) indicates the high degree of dependency in depressed patients and this dependency is considered by the author to represent one of the prominent sources of internalized aggression in the depressed patient.

From this dual finding regarding the relationship between depression and aggression and between depression and dependency, it is inferred that depressed patients display a significant degree of ego-alien dependency needs which engenders a high degree of covert aggression. This aggression is too ego-threatening to be allowed into consciousness because of its etiological ties with the individual's dependency needs. Thus, the aggression is internalized and introjected and represents a basic source in the formation of depressive symptomatology. It will be observed from Table 1, that this dynamic resolution is present in both sexes, but more so for males, as one would expect, in view of cultural sex differences regarding the appropriateness of dependency needs.

The results of this study have important implications for the psychotherapy and counseling of depressed individuals since it emphasizes the importance of ego-alien dependency needs as a potential source for the development and internalization of aggressive impulses, which in turn generates depressive feelings and symptoms. These findings would tend to indicate that therapists must be particularly cognizant of the potential role of ego-alien dependency needs in the etiology of the depressive illnesses.

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SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF HOSTILITY

by

Donald H. Bouma, Ph.D.*

Speaking as a typical Black Muslim, Cassius Clay expressed his hostility by claiming the cancellation of his fight in Chicago was due to white hostility toward Negroes, manifest in so many ways over the years.

Saul Alinsky, the most controversial and hated poverty fighter in America, active for over 27 years in dozens of our cities, says we get nowhere until we "rub raw the sores of discontent" in the disprivileged, producing massive volumes of hostility, which then must be organized.

Insecure and desperate John Birchers, crying "wolf", across the mountains and plains, the steeped village greens and the urban jungles of America, find a focal point for their hostility by a call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Watts community in Los Angeles erupts in massive violence and similar mob action in Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester and elsewhere rallies the hostility of non-whites and hurls it randomly against this target and that, claiming justification in charges of police brutality.

Bloody and sadistic forays of the Purple Dragon gang in New York are explained in terms of frustrations of the lower class coming to expression in assaults of hostility against the entrenched middle class power structure.

Carl McIntyre mounts repeated attacks on Calvin College. And Bob Jones, jr., president of Bob Jones University, denounces Billy Graham as a "false teacher who is doing more harm to the cause of Jesus Christ than any living man"--hostility fed by religious ethnocentrism.

Hostility is woven into the life-ways of the peoples of the earth, part of the cultural fabric, providing strength for the social matrix at the same time that it splashes it with brilliant hues of variety and threatens the persistence of the system because it tears and rends.

Just as cultures need to be understood with reference to the social functions of hostility, so hostility is not understood without reference to its social dimensions. Socio-cultural factors are involved in the sources of hostility, the amount of hostility expressed, the methods by which hostility is expressed, the targets sought for the expressions of hostility, and finally the reaction patterns of the social system to the hostility.

*Dr. Donald H. Bouma is Professor of Sociology at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan. Dr. Bouma is also Adjunct Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan and Michigan State University. He received his Ph.D. degree from Michigan State University.

Karen Horney has said that all neurotic patients in our society showed one crucial characteristic: An attitude of basic anxiety, an all-pervading feeling of being lonely and helpless in a hostile world. She called it a feeling of being "small, helpless, deserted, endangered in a world that is out to abuse, cheat, attack, humiliate, betray, envy."

This basic anxiety develops out of more specific anxieties, namely those which arise from repressed hostility. So, to her, it was all a matter of hostility reactions to a hostile world.

Hostility may be said to result from thwarted wishes. We attribute this thwarting to other people, other groups, other ideologies, which then become the objects of hostility. This hostility may be expressed or repressed.

If expressed it may result in our feeling better as we get over the hurt of the thwarting, it may feed on itself and grow into a monster that we delight in, or it may produce return hostility, and we find ourselves involved in the frustrating game of getting even--like mirrors locked face to face in an endless corridor of hostility.

On the other hand, the hostility may be repressed, rather than expressed. The repression may be a temporary restraint; that is, without adequate resolution because middle class values have insisted that it is "not nice" to show hostility, because of fear of retaliation to the hostility, or because of a conviction that it is evil or wrong to be hostile. The repression may take the form of merely pretending that everything is all right.

Or there may be the permanent repression of hostility, although there are some who deny the possibility of this, insisting that repressed impulses do not just die; that there is a need to do something about them.

Socio-cultural factors are of utmost importance in understanding the nature and intensity of human wishes, motives, goals, desires, on the one hand, and the situations which produce the frustrations, or thwarting of wishes, on the other hand. Further, socio-cultural values play a large part in determining whether the thwarted-wish hostilities are expressed or repressed, and, in either case, why and how.

While hostility is often expressed toward the out-group, it may turn inward, that is, on the person's own group. In such cases, it serves unique purposes. Kurt Lewin studied Jewish hostility to the Jewish in-group. Close parallels are found among Negroes and in tightly knit nationality groups like the Dutch in western Michigan.

Lewin found that Jews who were rejected by the majority, but who were ashamed of their membership as Jews, would move as far as possible from things Jewish; that is, as far as the majority group will let them. Hence, there was a constant thwarting, a resultant marginality, a generalized tendency to aggression which should be directed toward the majority group which hinders him from leaving his group. However, the majority has too much power, hence the aggression and hostility is turned against his own group.

Among nationalities, we have the principle of "Third Generation Esteem." What the second generation resents in the first generation of immigrants, the third generation prizes and esteems. Yet marginal individuals in the third generation, those feeling trapped by an ethnic identification they wish the majority would forget, may express the same in-group hostility.

Similarly, there are Negroes who feel hostility toward the Negro Community, are cited by whites for the negative things they say about Negroes, and will use such epithets as "nigger", and other terms with opprobrious affect loads.

Prejudice and antagonism not only produce hostility in the objects of prejudice, but also serve the hostility needs of the prejudiced person. Frenkel-Brunswick and others have studied how prejudice, particularly with reference to Jews, meets the hostility needs of people. They found that people with strong needs for dependence on authority, together with repressed resentment toward it, often displaced their hostility toward Jews and other minority groups.

Other studies relate prejudice to insecurity and the insecure cannot express hostility to any but the downtrodden. Simply, it is the kick-the-cat orientation.

Prejudice, of course, has produced massive hostility in the Negro communities of American society--largely repressed, increasingly expressed. Expression will increase as there is added to the basic ingredients of fear and anger the ingredient of hope. Hope is the volatile element, the new factor in this persistent American problem. Hope gives hostility both muscle and wings, and changed social circumstances have lit the flames of hope.

While prejudicial attitudes are productive of hostility, discriminatory behavior produces an even more intense hostility among non-whites. Discrimination against Negroes, whether it be in education, recreation, housing, politics and the vote, courts of law, employment, or religion, feeds a pool of hostility in the Negro, including yearnings for retaliation (expressed hostility) and apathy (repressed hostility). Out of this pool of hostile feelings come those overt acts of Negro hostility which the white community finds so irritating.

Segregation itself is one of the social factors which produce hostility. A person is not likely to unlearn a hostile attitude toward a person or group with which he has no contact. The fact that groups holding hostile attitudes toward each other are quite likely to take steps which reduce communication between the groups results in reinforcement of the attitudes of hostility.

Segregation and hostility are thus in a situation of dynamic interaction, each producing and feeding the other. The ideology of both groups will include justifications for the hostility. Members of the more privileged group believe that the other group members are inherently inferior, while those of the less privileged group will probably justify their own hostility on grounds that they are victims of exploitation. All of this deepens the significance of efforts to reduce the incidence of de jure and de facto segregation in education.

The classic Stouffer study of early desegregation in the military, Newcomb's study of the consequences of desegregation among seamen in the National Maritime Union, as well as a welter of later studies, have all demonstrated the significant diminution of hostility attitudes between races as the result of desegregation programs.

Even when factors producing physical segregation are removed there is no guarantee that the communication between groups which is a prerequisite for reduction of hostility will occur. The group members must believe that they have enough in common to make communication possible. Hence, it is so utterly important that in our educative processes the basic factors of ethnocentrism and stereotypes be explained, analyzed, illustrated, discussed. Being able to operate effectively and intelligently in the mosaic of differences that constitute our increasingly complex and compressed American society is impossible without such understandings--and many are the schools that omit these, while losing the students in the irrelevancies of the Pilgrims, the Pyramids and the Peloponnesian Wars.

It is a basic principle of sociology that in-group solidarity is strengthened by out-group threat or conflict. Hence, the production and stimulation of hostility toward an out-group serves socially useful purposes, whatever other negative consequences there may be. Hostility toward an out-group is increased by any form of in-group interaction which increases the degree to which the out-group is perceived in terms of a shared sense of threat.

Hostility generating situations multiply in our increasingly urbanized American culture. There is the hatred of cultural differences that has produced such a tempest in the melting pot. The deep-seated antagonism and hostility toward Christian schools in western Michigan--and let not the cultural provincialism of ethnocentrism blind us to it--is illustrative. Then there is the fear of social change and the desire to protect the status quo. Every cultural change generates hostilities as we fail to see that yesterday's heresy becomes today's doctrine. (Re-read some time the 10 "incontrovertible reasons" why it "is" impossible for Negroes to play major league baseball given in 1948).

Not only the goals, but also the techniques, of social change often produce hostility. As cited earlier, Saul Alinsky's widely-referenced social action programs are based on hostility. "Opportunity, dignity, equality do not come as acts of charity, but by taking through your own efforts, by force," he says.

Much hostility is generated by some of our stupid laws. We are spared the production of even more hostility because the enforcement of these laws is often sporadic and weak and we develop institutionalized patterns of evasion. Illustrative might be the no-smoking-under-21 law in Michigan, the New York divorce law (until changed last week), and the abortion laws in all 50 states. It is pretty difficult to try to develop "respect for the law" in a hostile delinquent when we really mean, and he knows we mean, "why don't you break the same laws the nice people do."

Religious groups produce considerable hostility with their emphasis on absolutes which are not; on dogmatism born of ignorance and non-relevancy; on literalism, but only here and there where it suits the purposes; and on translating the moral beliefs of the religion into laws for all.

Hostility, expressed or repressed, endemic or epidemic, is woven into the fabric of American society. Socio-cultural factors are involved in the sources of hostility, the methods by which hostility is expressed, and the reactions to hostility. Programs for the reduction or re-channeling of hostility will similarly have to take into account these social factors.

HOSTILITY IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

or

"How to Educate a Child so That He will Likely Become a Hostile Adult"

by

J. Marion Snapper, Ed.D.*

With a subject and area of application so broad, I have chosen to limit the scope by focusing on the process of education as one might set it up if he wished deliberately to induce a great deal of generalized hostility into his society. The process described is further limited by selecting programs which are plausible, not uncommonly found, and often even considered desirable by middle-class Christians.

The approach is positive though with a negative twist. The educational program described here may be compared or contrasted with existing programs.

Definitions

A. The Educational Process.

The educational process is narrower in scope than the socialization process, although it is always part of it. We use it to refer to that part of the total socialization process which involves a professional teacher, in a school, mediating between a child and the learnings which the school is commissioned to pass on to the next generation. It is so conditioned by the broader socialization process that it ought to be viewed somewhat as a parenthetical experience in the life of a child, its influence, except in pathological cases, well described by Peck and Havighurst (25:175):

Character appears to be predominantly shaped by the intimate, emotionally powerful relationship between child and parents, within the family. Forces outside the family are not negligible nor irrelevant in their indirect effect on character formation but it looks as though these forces operate mainly as they shape and guide parents' behavior, and as they reward or otherwise reinforce child behavior that follows the socially approved parts of the parents' behavior.

This strong statement is included here to protect teacher and school from unrealistic notions about their influence.

B. Hostility.

Since the strategy of this paper is to set up an educational program which will be effective in inducing hostility, it is important to define hostility with some precision. The definition used here is not offered as the only one or even the best one. Its purpose is to make our goal

*Dr. J. Marion Snapper is Associate Professor of Education at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Dr. Snapper received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California at Berkeley.

of education concrete, and to provide as many clues as possible about the kind of program which will most effectively achieve that goal. Following the definition, and throughout the paper, the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography.

Hostility is an expression of concern by the individual; concern for himself, for his identity, for his integrity in relation to other selves, God included. This expression is primarily in the form of an attitude of animosity, ill will, and negative evaluations, directed toward people (including self). The attitude involves an implicit verbal response in the form of a belief or image. It may move a person toward (attack) or away (withdrawal) from its object. (3,22,29,26)

Three observations are in order before beginning the description of the program.

First, this is a social-psychological definition and more easily related to the educational process than intrapsychic definitions.

Secondly, and of considerable importance later in the paper, hostility is given both affective and cognitive content. It assumes with Rokeach that "every affective state also has its representation as a cognitive state in the form of some belief or some structural relation among beliefs within a system." (31:8) In plain language, emotions do have "brains". Though it may not be much, there is some idea associated with an emotional response. The reverse, of course, is also true. An idea is associated with an emotion, though it may not be much. Scriptural language assumes this repeatedly with such statements as "that your love may abound more and more, with knowledge and all discernment." (Philip. 1:9) This concept enables us to examine not only interpersonal and intrapersonal, but person-subject matter transactions as well which may affect the development of hostility.

Finally, this definition focuses most sharply on the self, self-image, self-concept, on the ego. This focus provides the key to the strategy of the program.

Strategy for Achieving the Goal.

A. Major Hypothesis.

The most basic task is to erode the self-concept of the student, to cripple his ego. Ego is used here to refer to the internal, organizing, integrating part of the personality. Ego processes refer to the activity by which each individual selects, interprets, mediates the information he receives both from external and internal sources, doing whatever is necessary to maintain himself, to survive, to preserve a sense of personal integrity. (5,8,9,10,11,25,27,32)

We must make each student afraid, first of all, of himself, and the best way to do this is to keep him from ever becoming a distinct, integrated, autonomous self. We must shut him off from the personal meaning of his own experience. We must make him dependent on other people in everything he does. We must make him afraid of his own propensities, ideas, impulses. We must make him insecure, for

insecurity seems to lie at the root of the personality (of the hostile person). The individual cannot face the world unflinchingly and in a forthright manner. He seems

fearful of himself, of his own instincts, of his own consciousness, of change, and of his social environment. (1:372)

To repeat, we must cripple his ego. Once this is accomplished, then all else that is taught will be conditioned by that "inward teacher," (8:18) in this case a crippled ego. This will be the filter through which all the learnings of the school will go. The absolutely essential and basic necessity of this step must be clearly perceived and understood.

The behavioral science image of modern man provides a neat taxonomy for us. Summarizing the 1045 findings of the social sciences, Berelson finds 20th-century man to be a "creature who adapts reality to his own ends, who transforms reality into a congenial form, who makes his own reality. And he does this in two ways." (5:663)

First, he manipulates and modifies his physical environment. He builds wheels, roads, airplanes, and uses vaccines, scalpels, and deodorants. To this type of environmental control the sciences and mathematics contribute.

Secondly, 20th century man is "not just a seeker of truth, but of deceptions, of himself as well as others..." (8:664) He adjusts his social perceptions to fit his wishes and needs; he hears what reinforces what he needs to hear; he will misinterpret rather than face up to conflicting facts, and when he cannot escape, he retreats into his private fantasy world. The crippled ego, the inward teacher, does all this and more as it seeks to make life tolerant. It is to these areas of life that the social sciences, humanities, and religion address themselves. It is in these areas that hostile beliefs operate.

The importance of the ego in learning becomes more clear when we remind ourselves that what a person learns and retains and uses in his relationships with the vital issues of life are those learnings which have been acted upon by ego processes--"that part of the personality of an individual which selects, mediates and symbolically binds inputs from the external or internal environment." (10:32)

Thus, if we can cripple the ego, erode the self-concept, we shall compromise the entire educational process to such an extent that it will be relatively ineffectual in producing the liberally educated man. It will make pure romance out of the notion of education which states that a person who studies history, the best of literature, the great ideas, etc., will thereby automatically become a Christian gentleman. As a matter of fact, if we can succeed in crippling the ego, he will become little more than a seething cauldron shellacked with a thin veneer of cultural symbols.

B. Working Hypotheses.

1. The teachers and administrators.

Hostile teachers will be most effective in nurturing hostility in children. This hypothesis rests on a prior one: Children will do as we do, not as we say, and; children will grow up to treat others as they themselves were treated.

Being realistic we must recognize that we cannot hire the teachers who would be most effective--the amoral, the bestial, cruel, irrationally inconsistent, the criminal type, etc. We must locate types which have a lot of generalized hostility which will be reflected in the way they treat their students. The most clearly available, widely acceptable type is probably the "irrational-conscientious" type described by Peck and Havighurst: (25:95-96) These are "walking examples of the Puritan conscience." The following is an edited quote:

More than by any other consideration, they are ruled by the dictates of their conscience, which consists of a firm, well-integrated body of moral rules. These rules which they follow so faithfully are much stronger than their ability to appraise present reality and figure out logical ways of behaving morally. They are quite unable to test the rules they have learned so uncritically.

They have an appreciable degree of generalized hostility. They automatically behave in responsible, "loyal," honest, "kind" ways; but it is more by rote than by personal intent. They demand as much of others as of themselves in the way of conventional morality.

Nevertheless, their lack of any strong, positive concern for others as individuals, not to mention their repressed but definite hostility, makes them far too literal minded and rigid in their righteousness to be very easy to live with. In fact, they do not begin to approach the spontaneous, sincerely considerate behavior which marks the higher levels of morality. They are "pillars of the church and the community;" and often seem just about as warmly human as so many stone pillars.

They do not really like people, and do not have any very positive or warm self-acceptance. They are unable to make discriminating judgments about the purpose of the moral rules which weigh on them so heavily, nor are they able to let circumstances alter cases, in order to preserve the spirit of the moral law. They take some cold satisfaction from rigorously observing the letter of the law. That is about the extent of their joy in living; their peers respect them, but they don't like them.

We shall also find in them relatively rigid patterns of thinking. They tend to see things in blacks and whites, quite intolerant of ambiguity. In their studies they did well under teachers who gave them neatly organized subject matter which they could reproduce for grades. They were upset by teachers who required of them more creative efforts in less structured fashion. They always tried desperately to please their teachers and consequently received fine recommendations from the majority--who like that kind of student.

They may do creative work in their academic studies, but it will likely be in areas that are theoretical, well-removed from the vital issues of life--mathematics, metaphysics, and the like, well up in the realm of Platonic Ideas. Some of them become Ph.D's.

In interview they will be respectful, profuse with "Yes, sir," "No, Sir." They will be enthusiastic about discipline, academic emphasis, and

mechanical in their response to questions about their interpersonal relationships with students.

Knowing something of how they were treated as children we may anticipate how they will treat their students. This will be discussed under the description of the program later in the paper.

A crucial difference between the teachers we are seeking and other teachers is that the teacher of hostility is not, cannot be open in his relationships with students, or with himself, for that matter.

With the term openness I am referring to what I consider to be the attribute of the teacher most closely related to the essence of love. Openness is an unselfish concern for the welfare of another person, that dimension of love which enables one person to share with another person his personal meanings. It means that I can share with you all of my doubts, fears, beliefs, joys, sorrows, convictions, experiences, without fear of reprisal or loss of respect, esteem, or acceptance.

The open person knows that the sharing of a common language is not enough. He realizes that each person, having come down a unique road of experience has unique meanings, and consequently sees and understands the world somewhat differently from others. And he does not want to deny to anyone the validity of his conceptualization of the world. For he knows that to do so is to suggest that his own ought to be reified, be he poet, physicist, farmer, or clergyman.

Phillips captures the psychological dimension of Philip. 2:3,4 in his translation: "...in humility think more of each other than you do of yourselves. None of you should think only of his own affairs, but should learn to see things from other people's point of view." This is openness.

The uncommonness of this attribute of openness is recognized by Rogers:

Our first reaction to most of the statements which we hear from other people is an immediate evaluation, or judgment, rather than an understanding of it. When someone expresses some feeling or attitude or belief, our tendency is, almost immediately, to feel "That's right"; or "That's stupid"; "That's abnormal"; "That's unreasonable"; "That's incorrect"; "That's not nice." Very rarely do we permit ourselves to understand precisely what the meaning of his statement is to him. I believe this is because understanding is risky. If I let myself really understand another person I might be changed by that understanding. And we all fear change. So I say, it is not any easy thing to permit oneself to understand an individual, to enter thoroughly into his frame of reference. It is also a rare thing. (33:18)

Using teachers who are not open we shall educate our children in a non-listening world, a social world in which they are denied their personal meanings, learning to give the right answer, the safe answer, the rewarded answer. The better we teach them to do this the further removed they will be from the personal meaning of their own experience. And the further removed they are, the more dependent they will have become on other people, and the more foreign and fearful they will be of their own ideas and meanings.

2. Discipline, Morality, Social Behavior.

We must see to it that morality, social behavior is kept an external concern for the students. We must emphasize external codes, external morality. The child should not learn to respond to the uniqueness of his personal transaction with his social situation, to reason about it, and to arrive at a judgment about what is right or wrong, good or bad, for him. In short, we must deprive him of any personal moral experience, blocking off any ego-integrating activity on his part. Especially terminate discussions of hypocrisy in the adult world.

This kind of teaching may be expected from the type of teachers and administrators we have described. They are very moral, automatically moral, moral by rote rather than by intent. They may be expected to expect of others the same high standards they hold for themselves in the way of conventional morality.

Such a teacher, having grown up to fear his own impulses, his own ideas, and having become dependent upon those stronger than himself, and also to fear them, having developed feelings of guilt about himself, having been alienated from himself, he is also alienated from others. He can't really like children. He can't care about them as individuals. This too makes him feel guilty. Such teachers will feel that they ought to like children; "they have a duty to like them, and they try to discharge this duty by acting, particularly by talking as if they liked them. Hence the continual and meaningless use of words like Honey, dearie, etc. Hence the dreadful, syrupy voice that so many adults use when they speak to children. By the time they are ten, children are fed up with this fake affection, and are ready to believe that most of the time, adults believe and mean very little of what they say." (20: 38,39)

The administrator of this type may be expected to be "nomothetic" as contrasted with "idiographic."

The nomothetic leader stresses the requirements of the institution and the conformity of role behavior to expectations at the expense of the individual personality and the satisfaction of needs. He perceives authority to be vested in his office, and he maintains the scope of his interactions with his subordinates in as diffuse a manner as possible. He places heavy emphasis on universalistic rules and procedures, and he imposes extrinsic sanctions whenever feasible...

The idiographic leader, in contrast, stresses the demands of the individual's personality, his need structure, and need-motivated behavior. Here organizational requirements tend to be minimized. This leader views his authority as delegated, and he tends to maintain higher specific interactions with his subordinates. His relationships to others are, in general, particularistic, tailored to each individual's personality, and he places major reliance upon intrinsic sanctions...(16)

Mr. X, an elementary school principal, repeatedly feels it necessary to explain why he runs his school the way he does. "I believe that children need to be disciplined. I think that right is right and

wrong is wrong. I think there are right and wrong ways to do things, and children have to be disciplined into doing them the right way. Unless a child learns to obey rules without even thinking about them, he will be ill prepared to face life with all its problems."

In response to this principal, I answer, "Yes, I too believe in routinizing as much as possible of the activities of a school. The more efficient a school is the more time the teacher and student can devote to really creative activities." It is most interesting to watch the look on the principal's face when this is presented as the argument for having a well-run school. It is a look of bafflement, of no-understanding. As a matter of fact, this argument is almost precisely the opposite of what he had in mind as purpose in having a well-disciplined school. The important point is that smooth routines are not at stake here. What is at stake here is spontaneity, creative, joyful activity by learners, and openness by teachers to the individual needs and differences of children.

The child must learn to distrust his own impulses. He must learn that punishment and--worse--the withholding of love are the prices paid for a rash act, for miscalculating the teacher's temper. He will thereby learn to distrust others as well as himself. The process sought is well described by Hirsh: (19:22)

For clearly all the events in their lives have conspired to keep them from achieving maturity. They were not taught how to grow but how to submit to those already grown. They were not taught to understand but to obey; not to try but to keep from trying; not to love but to revere. For them there were no gradual disentanglements, no natural substitutions, no new faiths to replace old fears, no new confidence to dislodge the old uncertainties. Although (they) had learned early to suppress...anger, and though once he could and did bury the reason for his fear, he could not bury the fear itself. Many years later he lives with it still. Nor is the terror any less terrifying because its origins have been dutifully forgotten; for now that it is nameless, it is also boundless.

The teacher we seek will use ridicule, scorn, sarcasm. He will tend to make the administration of rewards and punishments a personal affair, making students dependent on the adult: "I don't like what you are doing," rather than, "Are you satisfied with what you are doing?" And the response he seeks is: "Teacher, is this what you want?"

Harsh forms of discipline are not absolutely necessary. Perhaps even more effective is the benevolent dictator so beautifully described by Henry (17,18) and Holt (20) in his incomparable book, How Children Fail.

Summarizing the detailed observations he reports of the educational process, he says:

The idea of painless, non-threatening coercion is an illusion. Fear is the inseparable companion of coercion, and its inescapable consequence. If you think it your duty to make children do what you want, whether they will or not, then it follows inexorably that you must make them afraid of what will happen to them if they don't do what you want.

You can do this in the old-fashioned way, openly and avowedly, with the threat of harsh words, infringement of liberty, or physical punishment. Or you can do it in the modern way, subtly, smoothly, quietly, by withholding the acceptance and approval which you and others have trained the children to depend on; or by making them feel that some retribution awaits them in the future, too vague to imagine but too implacable to escape. You can, as many skilled teachers do, learn to tap with a word, a gesture, a look, even a smile, the great reservoir of fear, shame, and guilt that today's children carry around inside them. Or you can simply let your own fears, about what will happen to you if the children don't do what you want, reach out and infect them. Thus the children will feel more and more that life is full of dangers from which only the good will of adults like you can protect them, and that this good will is perishable and must be earned anew each day." (20: 179, 180)

The potency of all this is multiplied by the fact that the same adult world which creates all this dependence also demands of its children a strong sense of individualism, of Horatio Algerism, of initiative, of success in a competitive world. The large pool of free-floating fear accumulated by the time an individual so caught reaches adolescence and adulthood will assure a good measure of latent hostility, ready to be tapped by the ingenious demagog, the fear-monger, the schismatic preacher. And in some cases the cultural pressures may be sufficient to disorganize the individual, particularly the adolescent, so that he will require special attention, perhaps at Pine Rest.

3. Academic Aspects.

We must educate in such a way that the content, the information learned is kept as unrelated as possible to those ego processes which function in relation to the rest of the student's life. The most vital function of the ego in academic learning is the relating of learning to the doing of important developmental tasks of the growing child. (10,11,27)

There is an ancient claim that sound academic learning--the disciplines--does much good for character development, for the integrity of a person's cognitive-affective-volitional life. Henry Zylstra asserts the following as a consequence of a classical education: "There must be interiority of the personal self, personal conscience, deep-seated independence if there is to be society." (Testament of Vision). For the academic disciplines he claims such effects.

The thing we wish to accomplish is a separation between a child's emotional, volitional life and his cognitive (reason, understanding, etc.) life. And it strikes me that teachers less brilliant and humane than Professor Zylstra will be well trained for our purposes by taking seriously his advice on pedagogy: Don't make of mind something which struggles with the problems of the here and now; get the academic out of the realm of problem solving and into the ether of Platonic Ideas. (p. 132) Be sure they agree that "Johnny, as an object of known man, is not as important a subject as Homer..." (p. 134) These and similar suggestions will sound good to our teacher type who himself cannot tolerate the light of reason and knowledge touching his own emotional life.

Especially in such subjects as Literature, Social Sciences, and Religion, we must be certain that they do not affect the learner's

perceptions of present reality, that they don't increase his understanding of himself, his world, that they don't touch his fears, his prejudices, his hostilities. Let these teachers continue to live with the delusion that these subjects have some magic power in them to change lives. Don't remind them that such effects as we are concerned with are more the consequence of the process of teaching and learning--of how it is done--than it is of the content itself. The point is well made by contrasting Miss Groby with Terry Borton.

James Thurber describes Miss Groby ("Here Lies Miss Groby"): It is hard for me to believe that Miss Groby ever saw any famous work of literature from far enough away to know what it meant. She was forever climbing up the margins of books and crawling between their lines...Night after night for homework, Miss Groby set us to searching in "Ivanhoe" and "Julius Caesar" for metaphors, similes, metonymies, apostrophes, personifications, and all the rest. It got so that figures of speech jumped out of the pages at you, obscuring the sense and pattern of the novel or play you were trying to read.

Terry Borton (7) teaches the culturally deprived in Richmond (Calif.) High School. Average I.Q. about 85, reading level between grades 4-8x, filled with hostility, fear, hatred. "My job was to reach them where they were, and then show them where they could go." The curriculum specified simple books for this class, Little Britches, Wolf Eye the Bad One, and the like. But Borton believing that great literature touches lives more effectively, turned to Huck Finn. The methods Borton used to get under the skin of these students is described (7). Despite the fact that grades went down, these students preferred good literature and low grades. Borton concludes:

good literature speaks about things that are important to them...give perspective to these feelings and help my students understand what they feel. I believe that such a perspective is the most fundamental aspect of our culture...I am not sure that in itself the study of literature will "humanize"--I have known too many warped and bitter English teachers...

The key to Borton's success was his sensitivity to the needs and problems of his students. He knew them as well as he knew his literature. Without that knowledge he never could have broken the tight grip of fear that silenced his class in the face of the explosive stuff in Huck Finn.

But we must hire Miss Groby's, teachers who are good academicians, who would never dare to use such methods as psychodrama, role playing, and who would never "prostitute" literature as Borton did.

With a staff of Miss Groby's we shall have to develop extrinsic motivational patters in the students, since the material they are learning is kept from any relationship to significant problem-solving in their lives. Threats of failure and humiliation are most effective on middle class children (though they have little effect on Borton's students). This will enable the teacher to be irrelevant to the real issues of a child's life, and will also be effective in eroding the child's self-concept, his self-esteem.

The most effective tool here is the marking and grading system, kept in the hands of the adults, using a comparative system (the curve), and retaining all the arbitrariness of the present system. There is no more effective tool for disorganizing the phenomenological field of the student, separating out in his experience "real life" from school learning. (11, 27) This is the game which students know so well. He learns

the required material for examination purposes but keeps it from entering and changing his view of reality by dividing his field into two parts, "reality" and "school," the latter having nothing to do with real life. This is the game that has given the word "academic" its connotation of impractical futility. The bright people who have used this defense and made a success of school without changing their concepts of reality feel more competent in "school" than in "real life." Apparently many such persons become teachers. We often see teachers and children playing the school game together, equally unaware that the concepts they discuss have anything to do with life or action. (27:86)

The Christian teacher will, of course, wince at this. For the Scriptural view of the relationship of knowledge and understanding to life is well stated by Tresmontant:

Understanding is not separate from action...Nothing is more contrary to the biblical conception of knowledge and understanding than a separation of thought and action. In the words of Marx: "The philosophers have merely interpreted the world in different ways: the important thing is to transform it." (28:127,128)

This smacks more of Dewey Reconstructionism than of Platonic Idealism, so we shall be able to find Christian teachers who will think it good to separate understanding from action in their teaching.

In addition to the above-described benefit of the present grading system we also find it most effective as a method of eroding the self-concept, the self-esteem of students. Every teacher has seen the children, in considerable number, slinking home with the report card, afraid to face mother and father because they have not met their expectations. Love will be withheld, and the child will infer, "I am no good." All because they actually are incapable of mastering certain tasks prescribed by the school.

Holt's children told him that they were "afraid of failing, afraid of being kept back, afraid of being called stupid, afraid of feeling themselves stupid. Stupid." Holt adds, "Why is it such a deadly insult to these children, almost the worst thing they can think of to call each other? Where do they learn this?" (20:39)

It appears that the hypothesis of Dexter (12) has considerable support, that we are generating a fear of being found stupid (the 20th century counterpart of the Victorian sex repression) which results in a great reservoir of latent hostility toward the academic world by those who go out into the world to discover that they are not stupid. Latent, that is, until a McCarthy capitalizes on it.

Time does not permit development of how "good old A-B-C-D-E" operates to demoralize children. There are, however, a goodly number of educators

who can develop the argument on that score.

I must summarize. The above described program was designed to educate children in such a way that hostility will likely be found in them as adults. We have sought to do it by eroding their self-concept, weakening their ego, divorcing learning from any positive effects it might have on perceptions of a reality distorted by the crippled ego. With the necessary cooperation of the home this program will, I believe, be effective in producing hostility in people.

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THE EFFECTS OF HOSTILITY ON THE PERSON

by

Truman Esau, M.D.*

This title needs some exploration, or if you will, some exegesis. The word hostility is so emotionally laden in our Christian culture that I find it necessary to start this discussion with some statements of a basic nature. These will reveal my premises. I would not want you to conclude from the title that hostility affects a person only in a negative manner. Nor do I feel that the effects of hostility tend consistently toward the polarity of destructiveness or toward the other polarity of creativity in the main. I find the need of giving particular attention to a definition of the word hostility. The word hostile and hostility are to be differentiated from other allied terms, including anger, rage, hate and aggressiveness. These terms are frequently used interchangeably and will need clarity in definition. I do not pretend that the definitions which I offer are widely accepted, but I will try to use them consistently so that I can communicate well. If one views these terms from the psychoanalytic perspective (not necessarily the best or the only perspective, but a readily available frame of reference) one discovers on the physiological-drive end of the spectrum the words anger and rage. These tend to be undirected and are experienced with large physiological components. Arising out of the anger or rage are attitudes which one might call hostility. I see hostility not only as a conscious experience but as a combination of conscious and unconscious components. As we move from an attitude to action orientation, the words aggressivity, aggression, or aggressiveness are used. So one has the drive of angry rage which forms into hostile attitudes which may be expressed in aggressivity.

There has been considerable attention given in recent years by Christians in the Psychiatric Section of the Christian Medical Society to this subject of hostility, and so I will use some of the papers presented at those meetings for resource materials. Hostility has come to be associated, rather uniquely with sin. Even though distortions of love in terms of dependency are as destructive to the human personality, we have come in our American puritanical-pietistic ethic to consider hostility of a more troublesome nature, perhaps because it is overtly destructive under certain circumstances. Whether we would defend it theologically or not, when we, the average man in the church, consider original sin, we are most likely to consider its typical expression to be temper outbursts. Perhaps as a corollary to this we understand more why "niceness" and the "personage," as Tournier terms it, befitting the typical Christian personality. At this point I would have to differ with this basic assumption for several reasons. I think this all assumes that the old nature is identified with the human body; an expression of bodily and personal needs reflects the old nature. A false system of sacrifice will propose

*Dr. Truman Esau is director of the Covenant Counseling Center in Chicago, Illinois. Dr. Esau received his M.D. degree from the Albany, New York Medical College. He is a Diplomate of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology.

that satisfaction of needs is sinful. This has been particularly true in appraising hostility. These considerations have failed to differentiate between hostility as a constructive force and as a destructive attitude. Passivity then becomes the ethical norm; when hostility must be viewed as evil. Furthermore, a lack of differentiation between thought and action has been reflected in the absence of any dynamic understanding of the meaning of hostility in the personality. Thought has become equivalent to action and responsibility for thought and action are therefore equal. Theologians, such as Lloyd Jones, imply that it is sinful to express hostile feeling. It then becomes important to the naive Christian to attempt to eradicate hostility since conscious knowledge of and/or expression of hostility are identified with sin. This forces the Christian to handle hostility by repressive and suppressive measures. To a child in such a Christian family, hostility is not only undesirable because it threatens the child with loss of his parents' love, but it also supposedly breaks the relationship with God. How better to induce a rigidly inflexible super ego, God being the jailer. In this framework to be hostile is to be un-Christian, unforgiving, and worthy only of self-blame and condemnation. Yet we all know that hostility is not successfully repressed by such means, even within an evangelical sub-culture. In our churches such break-throughs as serious depression are not at all uncommon. A special spiritual intensity or reaction formation in the form of meekness, which is a defense against hostility, are often identified as "being like Jesus". Obsessiveness, common enough in our Western culture, is a positive ethic for persons who view hostility in this way. The obsessiveness protects against a hostile attitude. True, direct expression of or even thoughts of hostility are avoided but at the cost of personality impoverishment.

Let me now turn to a more positive statement of the position I would take in this. I do not view reason and emotion as antithetical forces nor consider that human nature must be looked on as basically dichotomous. I would not identify original sin with basic instincts because this in turn must lead to depreciation of emotion and exaltation of rationalism. I feel that there is no scale of values in God's sight which would put thinking, intellectualization and rationalization on a scale above emotion, feeling and desire. Yet these ideas have contaminated Christianity for they are at least as old as Plato. May I say instead that hostility is the creation of God? I cannot accept that anger and rage are drives which are consequences of the fall, an expression only of man's alienation from God. I would view hostility as one of the original attributes given man and good in and of itself. I substantiate this point of view by pointing to the evident hostility present in Jesus' ministry and life. This has been well documented although sometimes carefully hidden by a casual reading of some translations of the Bible, especially the King James. B.B. Warfield in his work "The Person and Work of Christ" has opened our eyes to the extent of this aspect of Jesus' personality. In fact, he spends many pages on this very topic and points to this kind of emotion as one of the prominent responses in Jesus' attitudes toward sin and human behavior. Paul said in Ephesians 4:26 "Be ye angry and sin not". He also said that the sun should not go down on our wrath. One could spend much time in this area theologically but I am neither inclined nor qualified to do this in depth. In summary, hostility was created by God but the utilization of hostility, and understanding of when it is and when it is not justified is more to the point. As a corollary to this, I must say that the effects of hostility in the person are deleterious or beneficial, dependent on what course of action an individual takes.

HOSTILITY IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT AND PSYCHODYNAMICS

We cannot understand the effects of hostility in the person until we look at least in a superficial way at the process by which this drive is managed in the course of personality development. We must presume that hostility is present in its earliest forms in the first year of life. Anger certainly is present almost immediately after birth as a response to noxious stimuli. However, hostility is a much more sophisticated response although it certainly builds upon this drive. Even in the first year of life, with the development of trust and interpersonal relations, as Erik Erickson has shown us, there is ambivalence in the young child. His mistrust is often coupled with anger and hostility. This may even be directed against himself as seen by present conceptualization of the psychodynamics of schizophrenia which goes back to ego formation in the first year. Certainly a little later the development of anaclitic depression is expressive of hostility turned against one's self. Briefly stated the anal period in Freudian thought is usually associated with the management of hostile responses. This brings the child into clash with the standards of the world about him. Much of the subsequent training that a child gets is concerned with control of impulse, emotion and affect. In the context of the Christian church greater value is placed upon the denial and repression of hostility than in the world at large. Hostility is frequently looked upon as a foreign element. There are those honest (and seemingly rare) families in which emotion is accepted as a normal part of a person's pattern of life. For these fortunate children this family, sometimes despite theology, convey that the child indeed does have a right to operate in a framework of honesty, but may I say it requires the profoundest kind of trust in the love relationship for a child to feel free to express this emotion. Another example in which hostility emerges is the child who is so badgered with restraint and so confused by conflicting messages that his anger spills over in the form of temper tantrums, deviant, deceitful behavior; the rigid value structure of this family so erodes the child's growth process that the child must break free from these traps. At this point I think it would be well to pause on the effect of hostility on children. We could take each period of a child's life very specifically to deal with this, but I am afraid we'll have to lump them together. I think it would be best to save some remarks specifically for adolescence, however. For children younger than adolescence, however, hostility is frequently evident in the pre-school period in the form of temper tantrums and other signs of wilfulness which are often and readily handled in the normal course of family life. With the usual requirements in the socialization process for a child to adapt to the structure of family life, of school life and other parts of society, we usually find a basic conformist behavior until the onset of adolescence. This conformity may be an expression of a deleterious effect of hostility on the person. The good child who does not show his feelings, who follows along with the expected pattern, is one who should be watched with care because the denial of hostility is too great. One would fear the entrenchment of passive and dependent mechanisms in later life or the later outburst of the repressed impulse in the form of deviant behavior. A further alternative, of course, is internalization of this repressed material in the form of neuroticism. It is nigh impossible to predict which way this will go in the over controlled child, but "goodness" of this sort in a young child is indeed of grave danger. As denial is always one of the least favorable defense mechanisms against any effect, it is also true here in this period of life. A further deleterious affect of hostility in childhood is the management of hostility

by a reduction in the utilization of his full capacities. School learning problems obviously and frequently are consequences of thwarted hostility. The displacement of hostility onto the learning process is in the child's unconscious a fitting punishment for parents who do not understand his needs and who make success a chief goal of life. The basic dishonesty of this pattern is revealed by the fact that the child himself is not often aware of the quality of hostility that is hidden beneath this "laziness".

The proper management and utilization of hostility in childhood in contrast links hostility to creativity. The child is able to become angry at those objects which are deserving of this affect. He is able to express his feelings in an honest fashion within his family and find his feelings have gained acceptance and that he can anticipate a working out of his affect. It is not only that hostility will then be diverted into creative ways, but the hostility itself is a good thing. When a child perceives evil in the world and resists it, hostility has its greatest meaning. It is a way of warding off forces which would tend to destroy the person; this process in fact is initiated in childhood. How much more reassuring it is to a parent to have a young child who becomes appropriately disturbed by events in life and who learns how to manage these without a false denial of his own feelings or a slipping into introjected punitiveness. Honesty even in childhood is greatly to be desired and a source of considerable gratification to parents whose children possess it.

Adolescence in contrast presents us with a child who is closer to his affect than the latency aged child. We now see new developments in handling of hostility, but not yet in an adult fashion. On the one hand, we see the adolescent who cannot contain the affect as he is driven by his biological need. We see the adolescent who must act this out in overt form to the consternation and embarrassment of his family. We find the adolescent who cannot accept authority and can only have a hostile response to it. In our easy fashion of identifying this behavior sinful, we bypass the fact that his child is now spewing out what he has repressed in the earlier difficult interpersonal relationships in his family. We cannot naively say that this expression of hostility in the adolescent is always a bad thing. We must say this hostility is partly justified because he has not been understood. Yet this is not to blame the parents for this is indeed a sort of collusion between parent and adolescent. This is the outworking of a wrong kind of bargain in childhood as to how to manage communication and feelings within the family. In another part of the spectrum one finds the adolescent who becomes overly preoccupied with intellectual and obsessive-compulsive management of hostility. This indeed is a dreadful thing to see because it forewarns of very serious personality limitations and inhibitions of basic abilities. In contrast we find the too rare, but nonetheless real, experience of an adolescent whose hostility is channeled into creativity. This child not only engages in peer competitive relationships but also pushes himself forward in the task of acquiring or incorporating the demands and requirements that life brings to him. Such adolescents seem to be inexhaustible in their quest for knowledge and their pursuit of meaning and understanding. They are always a marvel to behold.

With the ending of adolescence we see the fixation of hostile attitudes in adulthood. On one end, we find the obsessive compulsive who denies all hostility by his over-compensatory reaction formation. This, it must be said, is frequently a cover for psychosis. Of significance, an obsessive-compulsive individual is very difficult to deal with psychotherapeutically. The strength of his defense points to the danger of trying to break through it. Frank paranoid decompensations are not at all uncommon when

one strips away this defense mechanism. The aridity of life is not simply a product of the obsessive compulsive defense mechanism, but is an expression of the basic emptiness and affect deprivation of such an individual. Quite in contrast to this overly controlled individual is the acting out person who handles hostility by inflicting his feeling upon the world around him. We see this pattern all too readily in the passive dependent individual in our church life. He may escape recognition for a time. He may appear under the guise of the successful Christian businessman who is an artist at manipulation and conniving. To this pragmatist success is the goal and yet he may seem to be starry eyed in his idealism and talk of spirituality. But it is talk alone, for his goal is to conquer the world. Then there is the neurotically guilt ridden individual whose hostility is the constant concern of his super ego. To this the depressive reaction, the hypochondriacal and the well known psychosomatic are witnesses. Of the depressive reaction we know a great deal. We understand something of hostility which is now turned against the self and thereby avoids encounter with the relationships in which the hostility would have been quite appropriate. If one were to survey the understanding of psychosomatic medicine one would a generation ago have talked of the effect of specific affects such as hostility and how they were expressed in given psychosomatic symptomatology. This kind of organ specificity is not so well received in our present understanding of psychosomatic disease. However, we do know that bodily organs express hostility. Do we not all know persons where colitis is such an expression or hypertension and headaches. This psychosomatic person denies the primary object of the hostility.

This brings us back to a very fundamental theme that I would like to stress. It is that hostility is an expression of a feeling in interpersonal relationships. When dealt with by defense mechanisms, it is a step away from the encounter in that relationship. Hostility in that context is not bad. There is always an element of rightness about such hostility. Therapy for hostility in children requires confrontation in family relationships, but consider hostility at a later period in life when it has been internalized and has become part of the habit of the personality. This presents one with a much more difficult problem. This, of course, leads to the necessity of transference or some other depth form of relationship in therapy to substitute for this earlier person or persons.

Without hostility as I see it the individual would die. Hostility is necessary for self preservation; hostility is necessary for integrity. Hostility is necessary for development of such virtues as forthrightness and leadership. This is not simply taking the bad affect and sublimating it into a good end. It is taking a good affect which is given of God and expressing it in good channels.

REMARKS ON THE AFFECTS OF HOSTILITY ON THE PERSON AS MEMBER OF GROUP

In this context I will now move away from the individual personality development and psychodynamics to the question of the meaning of hostility in group relationships in adult life. This leads us to look very directly at what happens in interpersonal relationships all the way from union-management relationships to the family and to the church. Hostility indeed has an effect upon persons in these groups. I'm not saying that one can remove individual psychodynamics from this consideration for each

individual's dynamics interplay with group forces. However, we must talk about management of hostility by the group process. Let us take the church as an example. How often charity, self sacrifice and love offerings become guises to cope with hostility. How the pastor is exposed to this gift system as a basis for relationships within the church.¹ For instance, is not hostility commonly expressed by the church congregation toward the pastor by the management of his salary? Instead of giving him a living wage his meager salary is supplemented by gifts, gifts which in turn require participation in a political system. This manages the hostility of the group because it prevents a confrontation over issues, it provides instead for manipulation, for a control of the pastor through guilt mechanisms. This, of course, can be a harking back from the group to the childhood experiences in which God is somehow looked upon as a punisher, one who is the ultimate resource for the rejection of the child should he disobey. Since this is the case, one cannot confront such a person directly. One cannot be honest with God nor with His representative, the pastor. Instead he must be bought off, he must be pleased, and yet he must not be allowed to control one's life because he cannot be trusted. With the attitudes in childhood that God must be trusted and since God for that child is invisible and is experienced so exclusively through the parents, the child is left with no way of dealing with God except by the mechanisms with which he relates to his parents. If he has not learned to trust his parents, he cannot experience trust in God. When he comes to identify with Christ as a real person, he finds himself uneasy because this Christ is someone who seems to carry a big stick. Thus the political structure of the church through the hierarchy of pastor and other denominational organizations becomes something both to be feared and also to be attacked. This political structure represents too much power and it must be avoided by indirect means because a direct confrontation would threaten one with the danger of annihilation, loss of salvation. This in turn leads to a kind of paranoid attitude in the church.

A further expression of the effects of hostility in the group is the exaltation of the austere, rationalizing and intellectualizing individual. This frequently comes out through viewing control of hostility as a primary Christian virtue. So often pastors feel that they must practice this role in order to avoid the pitfalls of open confrontation. Seminaries, in fact, encourage this character formation. This is a natural corollary to the passive dependent characteristics which are so common in the church. The basic dishonesty becomes evident when the church splits over minute issues, spending much time talking about something that has no essential meaning while voting unanimously on very profound issues. The traditional "witch hunt" cries of heresy are, of course, frequently just an expression of hostility which cannot be handled by direct confrontation.

In contrast we must say that hostility has its right place. Christian worship is indeed affected by an honest expression of hostility. It is true that this is a dangerous course because when one gives permission to a group to express hostility, one has no guarantee that they will get at the real issue but they may indeed be caught up with minutiae in the process. However, there is no alternative but to take this chance if one is to have an honest church. What would a marriage be without the frequent opportunity for real encounter over issues so that the varying values and implicit commitments of the parents and the children can be confronted in an open, honest fashion and then be worked out so all the needs are met as best as possible. In our growing urban society we have nostalgically looked back to the ethic of the small town and its supposed intimacy. We

have assumed that knowing a lot of people and seeing them frequently meant that we were really close to them. This was not true in the small town and it certainly is not true in the urban society. Nonetheless the church is an organization within which real relationships can occur. Those real moments in worship and in church life where we encounter the real issues of life and where we dare to be honest with each other about our deficits and our hostilities to one another are so deeply rewarding that we cannot quite give up on the church as a group process. We benefit from this kind of openness, this kind of honest expression of hostility when it is coupled with love.

We have considered many aspects of the effects of hostility on the person. I have tried to make several statements about hostility as a creation of God, statements about the normal place of hostility in personality development and psychodynamics. I have traced these over a typical life process noting both the distortions and the positive expression of hostility in life. I have also introduced some aspects of how hostility affects persons through a group process. I have looked at this primarily in the framework of the church because it is so close to us. I would conclude by saying that confrontation with others leads us to feel clean, honest and open, even if one has to concede in the process, has to admit that he has misjudged. This clearing of the soul is basic to Christian communication. It is so desirable that we persevere in the church when we only rarely see this expressed. We do not give up. We hope for salvation in this area. We hope yet for the honest community, the redemptive community in which I can be open with my brother about my feelings and in which I do not have to apologize for my hostility. Yet I do not defend my hostility as necessarily right. It is in some inbetween land where I neither excessively introject my hostility nor excessively project it onto others that real meaning occurs. The chipping away of defensiveness in this area is a constant battle within the church, within the family and within the individual. It can be progressively won, however, as all battles in the Christian life can be won, by the help of the Holy Spirit as he uses the Word of God in stimulating our fellowship with God.

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CONVENTION PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6

- 8:00 REGISTRATION AND COFFEE
(Knollcrest Library Lobby)
- 9:00 OPENING OF THE CONVENTION
(Library Assembly Room)
Presiding: Johannes D. Plekker, M.D.,
President
Devotions: Jack T. Dean, Th.B.
Welcome: William Spoelhof, Ph.D.,
President of Calvin College
- 9:30 "HOSTILITY — PSYCHOLOGICALLY
DESCRIBED AND INTERPRETED"
Chairman: Theodore H. Monsma, M.A.
Speaker: Richard Westmaas, Ph.D.
- 10:30 COFFEE HOUR
- 11:00 "BIBLICAL REVELATION AND HOS-
TILITY"
Chairman: Melvin Hugen, Th.D.
Speaker: Elton M. Eenigenburg, Ph.D.
- 12:30 LUNCHEON AND ANNUAL BUSINESS
MEETING
(Knollcrest Dining Hall)
Presiding: Johannes D. Plekker, M.D.
- 2:00 SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS
(Randomly assigned—Knollcrest Library)
- 3:30 REFRESHMENTS
(Library Assembly Room)
- 4:00 RESEARCH PAPERS
Chairman: William H. Kooistra, Ph.D.
- 6:00 BUFFET DINNER
(Knollcrest Dining Hall)

7:30 "SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF HOSTIL- ITY"

Chairman: Douglas D. Blocksma, Ph.D.
Speaker: Donald H. Bouma, Ph.D.
(discussion groups following address —
coffee served)

THURSDAY, APRIL 7

- 8:30 REGISTRATION
(Knollcrest Library Lobby)
- 9:00 OPENING OF SESSION
Presiding: Johannes D. Plekker, M.D.
Devotions: Franklin Kaemingk, S.T.M.
- 9:15 "HOSTILITY IN THE EDUCATIONAL
PROCESS"
(Library Assembly Room)
Chairman: G. Roderick Youngs, Ed.D.
Speaker: J. Marion Snapper, Ed.D.
- 10:15 COFFEE HOUR
- 10:45 SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS
(according to professional specialty)
- 12:30 LUNCHEON
(Knollcrest Dining Hall)
Meeting of new Board of Directors
- 1:30 "THE EFFECTS OF HOSTILITY ON
THE PERSON"
Chairman: Stuart Bergsma, M.D.
Speaker: Truman Esau, M.D.
- 2:30 REFRESHMENTS
- 3:00 AUDIENCE DISCUSSION WITH
PANEL OF CONVENTION
SPEAKERS
Chairman: Philip Lucasse, M.A.
- 4:00 ADJOURNMENT OF CONVENTION
Closing Remarks by the President
Prayer.

personalia

Stuart Bergsma

A.B. — Calvin College
M.D. — Rush Medical College, University of Chicago
F.A.C.S.; Diplomate American Board of Psychiatry
and Neurology
Superintendent, Pine Rest Christian Hospital.

Douglas D. Blocksma

A.B. — Calvin College
M.A. — University of Michigan
Ph.D. — University of Chicago
Consulting Psychologist, Private Practice,
Grand Rapids.

Donald H. Bouma

A.B. — Calvin College
M.A. — University of Michigan
Ph.D. — Michigan State University
Professor and Chairman, Dept. of Sociology, West-
ern Michigan University.

Jack T. Dean

B.A., M.A. — Long Beach (California) State College
Th.B. — Milwaukee Bible College
Ph.D. (Cand.) — Michigan State University
Acting President, Grace Bible College,
Grand Rapids.

Elton M. Eenigenburg

A.B. — Rutgers University
B.D. — Western Theological Seminary
Th.M. — Princeton Theological Seminary
Ph.D. — Columbia University
Professor of Christian Ethics and Philosophy of
Religion, Western Theological Seminary.

Truman Esau

B.S. — Wheaton College
M.D. — Albany, N. Y., Medical College
Diplomate American Board of Psychiatry and
Neurology
President, Psychiatry Section, Christian Medical
Society
Psychiatrist, Director of Covenant Counseling
Center, Chicago.

Melvin Hugen

A.B., B.D. — Calvin College and Seminary
Th.D. — Free University, Amsterdam
Post-Doctoral Fellow, University of Chicago
Pastor, Eastern Avenue Christian Reformed Church,
Grand Rapids.

Franklin Kaemingk

A.B., B.D. — Calvin College and Seminary
S.T.M. — San Francisco Theological Seminary
Chaplain, Bethesda Hospital, Denver.

William H. Kooistra

A.B. — Calvin College
Ph.D. — Wayne State University
Chief Psychologist and Coordinator of Research,
Pine Rest Christian Hospital.

Philip Lucasse

B.S. — University of Michigan
M.A. — University of Michigan
Dean of Students, Calvin College.

Theodore H. Monsma

A.B. — University of Michigan
M.A. — Wayne State University
Ph.D. (cand.) — Columbia University
Clinical Psychologist, Pine Rest Christian Hospital.

Johannes D. Plekker

B.S., M.S. — University of Michigan
M.D. — Wayne State University
Psychiatrist, Private Practice, Grand Rapids.

J. Marion Snapper

A.B., M.A. — Western Washington College
Ed.D. — University of California at Berkeley
Associate Professor of Education, Calvin College.

Richard Westmaas

A.B. — Calvin College
Ph.D. — Michigan State University
Clinical Psychologist, Pine Rest Christian Hospital.

G. Roderick Youngs

A.B., Th.B. — Calvin College and Seminary
M.A. — Michigan State University
Ed.D. — Loyola University
Assistant Professor of Education, Calvin College.

1966 CONVENTION COMMITTEE

Wm. L. Hiemstra, Ph.D. Chairman
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CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETINGAPRIL 6, 1966

1. The meeting convened at Calvin College - Knollcrest Dining Hall at noon, April 6, 1966. The meeting was opened with prayer by the President, Dr. J.D. Plekker.
2. A quorum was declared present.
3. A motion was adopted to approve the minutes of the annual business meeting of March 31, 1965 as printed in the Proceedings.
4. The treasurer's report, submitted by Philip Lucasse, was received as follows:

C.A.P.S. - Treasurer's Report March 1, 1965 - February 28, 1966

Receipts:

March 1, 1965 - Balance on Hand	\$1,165.97
Membership Fees	976.00
Sale of Proceedings	625.04
Convention Registration	2,097.15
Misc.	4.25
Total Receipts	\$4,868.41

Disbursements:

Convention Costs:

a. Meals	347.50	
b. Speakers	300.00	
c. Advertising	15.00	
d. Supplies	175.53	
e. Programs (Prtg)	65.00	
f. Lodging	235.00	
g. Clerical	243.30	
	<u>1,381.33</u>	1,381.33

General Supplies and Postage	353.38
Exec. Sec. Honorarium	200.00
Refunds for Overpayment	63.50
Mich. Sec. and Corp. Comm.	10.00
Board Member Travel	83.73
Proceedings	750.00
Printing	266.91
Total Disbursements	\$3,108.85

Balance on Hand - February 28, 1966 \$1,759.56

Submitted by:

Philip R. Lucasse, Treasurer
Christian Association for
Psychological Studies

Association Meeting Con't.
April 6, 1966

5. The Executive Secretary reported the following items:

1. Two Newsletters were mailed since our last Convention. Members are asked to submit news and information to the Executive Secretary.
2. Efforts were made to increase our membership through mailings to church-related and other Christian Colleges, to members of the Christian Medical Society, Psychiatry Section, and to known Christian psychologists and counselors. Let each member be a recruiting agent.
3. I submit membership comparisons (at Convention time):

1960	-	107
1961	-	126
1962	-	143
1963	-	155
1964	-	177
1965	-	161
1966	-	200

4. At the present time, because of continued demand, our inventory of Past Proceedings is very low. We only have,

8 copies of 1958 "Theories of Personality"
5 copies of 1961 "Psychology of Christian Conversion"
150 copies of 1965 "Dynamics of Learning Christian Concepts"

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Stuart Bergsma we are planning to have some of the material of earlier Proceedings published.

5. We are trying to arrange for regional meetings in the Chicago and West Coast areas. Dr. Melvin Hugen is Chairman of the Committee responsible for this.
6. C.A.P.S. will sponsor a Workshop for School Counselors at Calvin College April 26, 27, 1966. The theme of the Workshop is "The Integration of Counseling Practice with Personal Christian Values". Interested persons should contact Dr. Dennis Hoekstra or Mr. Phillip Lucasse.
7. The 1967 Convention is scheduled to be held at Oak Brook, Illinois.

Respectfully submitted,
Wm. L. Hiemstra, Executive Secretary

6. Dr. Stuart Bergsma gave a progress report on plans for publication of some of the past Proceedings.
7. Dr. Melvin Hugen gave a progress report on possible regional meetings.

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8. Dr. Dennis Hoekstra reported on plans for Workshop for School Counselors sponsored by C.A.P.S., to be held at Calvin College, April 26, 27, 1966.
9. Dr. Ronald Rottschafer reported on plans for the 1967 Convention to be held at Oak Brook, Illinois.
10. A motion was adopted to accept the slate of nominees as presented for new directors and to proceed with the election.
 - a. Gratitude was expressed to those whose terms of office had expired: A. Hoekema, M. Hugen, K.V. Kuiper and D. Blocksma.
 - b. One proxy ballot was accepted.
 - c. Results of the balloting were as follows:
Educational/Academic (Vote for one)
____ A. Hoekema*
____ D. Hoekstra (elected)
Pastoral (Vote for one)
____ M. Hugen* (elected)
____ D. Blackie
Psychiatry (Vote for one)
____ K.V. Kuiper* (elected)
____ W. Rooks
Psychology
____ D. Blocksma*
____ W. Kooistra (elected)
*Incumbents
11. The secretary was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Calvin College for offering to the Association such fine facilities and hospitality for the 1966 Convention.
12. President Dr. J.D. Plekker expressed thanks to the 1966 Convention Committee: Dr. Wm. L. Hiemstra, Chairman; Mr. Philip Lucasse, Registrar; Dr. Dennis Hoekstra and Mr. Don Van Ostenburg.
13. Mention was made concerning the illness of Henry Kik and Harland Steele.
14. It was announced that the new Board of Directors would meet for the purpose of reorganization at noon the next day.

Association Meeting Con't.
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15. Dr. Plekker noted the presence of Dr. Broman and Dr. Jaarsma, both of whom were leaders in the early years of C.A.P.S.
16. The meeting was adjourned and closed with prayer.

Respectfully submitted,
Wm. L. Hiemstra, Secretary

MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY

- Ackerman, Rev. Walter H. - 17621 Ardmore, Bellflower, California 90706
 Adams, Rev. James W. - 22 W. 210 Second Street, Glen Ellyn, Illinois
 Anderson, Clifford V. - 1804 Venus Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota 55112
 Anderson, Norbert O., M.D. - 14230 Shadywood, Plymouth, Michigan 48170
 Anstice, Miss Olive R., - Apt. 1, 35 Yorkshire St., S., Guelph, Ontario
 Canada
 Atkins, L. Vernon - Miltonvale, Kansas 67466
 Atwater, Charles R., Ed.D., - 733 N. Sixth, Sterling, Kansas 67579
 Babbage, Stuart, Ph.D., - 726 Kirk Road, Decatur, Georgia 30030
 Baker, Herman - 1030 Plymouth Rd., S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506
 Baker, Robert J., M.D., - 160 68th Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Ballbach, Mrs. Le Nelle - Moody Bible Institute, 820 N. LaSalle St.,
 Chicago, Illinois 60610
 Barr, Rev. Alan W., - 23066 Reynolds, Hazel Park, Michigan
 Bergsma, Stuart, M.D., - 3791 Shaffer Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Berry, Ronald N., M.D., - 6473 Westchester Circle, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Besteman, Karst J. A., - 809 Hillsboro Dr., Silver Spring, Maryland
 Beukema, Marenus J., M.D., - 6850 S. Division Avenue, Grand Rapids,
 Michigan 49508
 Bykerk, Roelof J., Ph.D., - 1405 Thomas St., S.E., Grand Rapids,
 Michigan 49506
 Blackie, Rev. Donald K. - 1840 Crescent Drive, N.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Blocksma, Douglas, Ph.D., - 1328 Madison Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids,
 Michigan 49507
 Bosch, Meindert - 2647 S. Adams, Denver, Colorado 80210
 Bovee, Charles C. - 2577 Midway Road, Decatur, Georgia 30030
 Brandt, Henry, Ph.D., - 412 Buckingham, Flint, Michigan
 Bratt, Miss Cornelia - 1149 Temple St., S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49507
 Breisch, Rev. Francis - 315 East Union, Wheaton, Illinois
 Brewster, E. Thomas, Apartado 1616 Guadalajara, Mexico
 Brink, Rev. Arnold - 2129 Jefferson Dr., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49507
 Brown, Robert, Ed.D., - 409 Fairhill Ct., Holland, Michigan
 Bulthuis, Calvin - 1217 Bemis, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506
 Busby, David, M.D., - 7501 N. Milwaukee, Niles 48, Illinois
 Cherry, Rev. Herbert - 1821 Tyler Road, Ypsilanti, Michigan
 Clark, Miss Dorothy - Williams Hall, Michigan State University, Lansing,
 Michigan
 Cooper, Rev. John - 2486 E. Laketon, Muskegon, Michigan
 Cox, Allan J. - 1103 Westgate Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois
 Cox, Richard H., Ph.D., - 3417 W. Foster Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60625
 Crawford, Claud C., Ph.D., - Hope College, Holland, Michigan
 Crewe, Rev. B.H., D.D., - Apt. 105, 721 N. Stephenson, Royal Oak, Mich. 48067
 Crowder, Orvell - Box 65, Milligan College, Tennessee 37682
 Cutting, Rev. Donald J. - 1606 Marlborough Rd., Okemos, Michigan
 Daling, John T., Ph.D., - 0-1089 W. Leonard Road, Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Dean, Rev. John T. - 2649 Madelyn Drive, S.W., Wyoming, Michigan
 De Beer, Rev. Leonard - 20600 Moross, Detroit, 36, Michigan
 De Boer, Lester J., Ed.D., - 1614 N. Silvery Lane, Dearborn, Michigan
 De Haan, Robert F., Ph.D., - 325 W. 32nd Street, Holland, Michigan
 Dekker, Rev. Harold - 2197 Jefferson Drive, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Dempsey, Rev. James - 2420 Wyoming S.W., Wyoming, Michigan 49509
 Den Dulk, Gerard, M.D., - P.O. Box 275, Ceres, Calif. 95307
 Derk, Rev. Carl H. - 241 East Walnut Street - Kutztown, Penn. 19530
 De Valois, Mrs. J.J., M.D., - 766 W. 24th Street, Holland, Michigan

De Voogd, Rev. Albert - 728 72nd Street, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 De Witt, Henry - 5758 36th Street, Hudsonville, Michigan
 Dolby, James, Ph.D., - Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois
 Donaldson, Rev. William J., Ph.D. - 328 Broadland Rd., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30305
 Dyke, David W. - 521 W. Oakridge Avenue - Ferndale, Michigan
 Eenigenburg, Elton, M., Ph.D. - 18 Cherry Street, Holland, Michigan
 Ellens, Rev. Jay Harold - 1208 East Fourth Street, Royal Oak, Michigan
 Ensworth, George - Westminster Theological Seminary, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Penn.
 Ericson, Richard C. - 9010 Stanlen Road, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55426
 Esau, Truman G., M.D. - 3417 W. Foster Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60625
 Fair, Donald C., Ph.D. - Dept. of Educational Psychology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada
 Fairweather, Paul, Ph.D. - Pasadena Community Counseling Center, 177 N. Madison Avenue, Pasadena, Calif. 91101
 Filmly, Merritt Frederick, 34622 Ash Street, Wayne, Michigan
 Folkerts, Gerald - 1533 Kingston Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan
 French, Alvin E., M.D. - Box 204, Helmut, New York 14079
 Geleyense, Rev. Martin D. - 6 Beamer Avenue, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada
 Goodpasture, John W., D.D., - 17226 Redford Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48219
 Graf, Paul E. - Marshall School, Tuslog Dept. 30, A.P.O. New York, 09254
 Granberg, Lars, Ph.D. - 5 East 29th Street, Holland, Michigan
 Gray, Richard W., D.D. - 407 North Easton Road, Willow Grove, Penn.
 Gray, William D. - Downtown Presby. Ch. - 154 Fifth Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn. 37203
 Greenway, Rev. Leonard, Th.D. - 1003 Whites Road, Kalamazoo, Michigan
 Gritter, John C. - 1321 Bretton Drive, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49007
 Grounds, Vernon C., Ph.D. - 1500 E. Tenth Ave., Denver, Colorado 80218
 Grove, Rev. Mason - 88 W. Main Street, Somerville, New Jersey
 Hall, Lacy, Ed.D. - 912 Bridle Lane, Wheaton, Illinois 60187
 Hall, Lewis - 4039 N. Oriole, Norridge 34, Illinois
 Harrison, Rev. Roger - 503 E. Buchanan, St. Johns, Michigan 48879
 Harvey, James, Ph.D. - Box 416, Inter American U., Aquadilla, Puerto Rico
 Hawley, Wayne A. - 936 Indiana State, S.E., Box 282, Wheaton, Ill. 60187
 Heiney, W. Floyd Jr., - 518 Woodland Hills Road, Athens, Georgia 30601
 Heyne, Rev. Ralph - 6850 S. Division Ave., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 Hiemstra, Rev. William L., Ph.D. - 6850 S. Division Ave., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 Hill, Jack W., M.D. - 646 84th Street, S.E., Byron Center, Michigan
 Hoekema, Anthony A. Th.D. - 1228 Dunham Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506
 Hoekstra, Dennis, Ed.D., - 859 Dunham S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Hoffer, Gilbert L. - 832 Fremont Street, Lancaster, Penn.
 Hoitenga, Rev. Dewey J. - 835 Vineland Road, St. Joseph, Michigan
 Holtrop, Rev. Elton J., Ph.D. - 5139 Maple Ridge Drive, Kalamazoo, Mich.
 Holwerda, James - 122 Union, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Hostetter, Karl - 127 N. Dearborn Street, Evangelical Child Welfare Agency, Chicago, Illinois 60602
 Hugen, Rev. Melvin D., Th.D. - 1814 Menominee; S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Huizinga, Raleigh J. - 2708 Richards Drive, S.E., E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Hummel, Charles E. - 33 Adelaide Ave., Barrington, Rhode Island
 Jaarsma, Cornelius, Ph.D. - 2229 College Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Jabay, Rev. Earl - Box 1000, Princeton, New Jersey
 Jansma, Rev. Theodore J. - 644 Goffle Hill Road, Hawthorne, New Jersey
 Johnson, Rev. Arthur - 5755 Lincoln Avenue, Hudsonville, Michigan
 Johnson, Miss Judith J. - 2023 W. Forrest Hill, Peoria, Illinois

Joosse, Wayne - Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas
 Kaemingk, Franklin, S.T.M., - 2300 S. Birch, Denver, Colorado 80222
 Kania, Rev. Walter, Ph.D. - Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia
 Kamp, John - Elim Christian School, 130th & Central, Palos Heights, Ill.
 Kass, Corrine E., Ph.D. - 866 Prince Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Kik, Rev. Henry - 2100 Frances, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49507
 King, Rev. Clarence - 2064 Oaknoll, Pontiac, Michigan 48057
 Kissiah, Mr. Herman - Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois
 Kok, Rev. James - 515 Meadow, Iowa City, Iowa 52240
 Kooistra, William H., Ph.D. - 849 Rosewood, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Kromminga, Rev. Carl, Th.D., - 1131 Benjamin Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Kroon Edwin H., M.D. - 4400 East Iliff Ave., Denver, Colorado 80222
 Kuhns, James W. - 205 Diamond Street, Hatfield, Pennsylvania
 Kuiper, Klaire V., M.D., - 2208 Madison Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Lambert, Rev. Roy F. - 7289 Williams Lake Road, Waterford, Michigan
 Larson, F. Wilmer, M.D. - Suite 623, Southdale Medical Center, 66th Street
 and France Avenue, Minneapolis 23, Minnesota
 Laskey, Robert S. - 7000 Chris Ave., Sacramento, California 95828
 Lont, Rev. James - 2331 Cambridge S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Louwenaar, Rev. David - 4236 Apple Avenue, Muskegon, Michigan
 Lower, James M. - 610 N. Wheaton Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois 60187
 Lucasse, Philip - 851 Calvin, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506
 Lutz, Howard W. - Counseling Center, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland,
 Ohio 44115
 Lyra, Synesio, - Shelton College, Cape May, New Jersey 08204
 Maliepaard, Rev. John - 2729 Oakwood, N.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49505
 Markelio, Anthony P. M.D., - 836 East Main St., East Aurora, New York
 Mc Ash, Rev. E. Arthur, - 10410 Cadieux Apt. 114, Detroit 24, Michigan
 Mc Callum, Floyd F., Ed.D., - 817 S. Washington Street, Owosso, Mich.
 Mc Cue, James R. - 404 East 5th St., Cheyenne, Wyoming
 Mc Ferran, Joseph - 1154 Dexter Street, Milan, Michigan
 Mc Guigan, Rev. John A. - 2245 Secor Road, Toledo, Ohio
 Merz, George - Onondaga Indian Reservation, R.# 1, Nedrow, New York
 Middleton, Rev. Ray C. - 186 Madison Avenue, Danville, Kentucky 40422
 Miller, Rev. Harry - 2006 Overhill Drive, Tyler, Texas
 Miller, Jay P. - 410 De Baliviere, St. Louis, Missouri
 Miller, Rev. Paul W. - 325 W. Main Street, Milan, Michigan
 Mohline, Richard J., - Moody Bible Inst., 820 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
 Monsma, Theodore H. - 1421 Rossman Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Monsma, Rev. Martin - 2482 Patterson, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Nuermberger, Rev. Robert - Box 313, Perry, Michigan
 Oppegard, Charles, M.D. - Bethesda Hospital, 4400 East Iliff Ave.,
 Denver, Colorado 80222
 Owen, Miss Ines - #D2, 36 Murphy Street, Pontiac, Michigan 48053
 Owens, John Richard - 3500 Tinkerbell Lane, Charlotte, North Carolina
 Parrott, Rev. D.A., - 1008 Park Avenue, Lincoln Park, Michigan
 Pattison, Joseph H., M.D., - 5210 Saybrook Road, Baltimore, Maryland
 Pattison, E. Mansell M.D., - Dept. of Psychiatry, University of
 Washing School of Medicine, Seattle, Wash.
 Pekelder, Rev. Bernard - 922 Orchard Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Peters, Miss Phyllis - 431 Custer, Evanston, Illinois
 Peterson, Norvell L., M.D. - Box H, Webster Ave., Beverly Farms, Mass.
 Peterson, Mrs. Norvell L., - Box H, Webster Ave., Beverly Farms, Mass.
 Pettinga, Frank L., D.D. - 1603 Peck Street, Muskegon, Michigan
 Plantinga, Cornelius, Ph.D. - 427 Mulford Dr., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Plekker, J.D., M.D. - 1348 Lenox Road, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Postema, Rev. Donald - 1810 Covington Drive, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Postema, Leonard J. - 1414 F. Spartan Village, East Lansing, Mich. 48823
 Postma, Rev. Edward - 947 Tamarack, N.W., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Potter, Mrs. Margaret - 3808 Robertson Drive, Dayton, Ohio 45420
 Reynolds, Alfred J., Ph.D., - Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Ribbens, Rev. John C., - 601 N. 27th Street, Lafayette, Indiana 47904
 Richardson, Rev. E. Alan - 1000 S. Knight, Park Ridge, Illinois
 Roa, Dar Rev., Ph.D. - 3544 Laurell Canyon, Studio City, California
 Roethlisberger, Doris - 357 Woodmere, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Rohland, Rev. Richard - Protestant Youth Organization, Inc., 628
 Farwell Bldg., Detroit, Michigan 48226
 Rook, Rev. M.D., - 11632 Paseo Bonita, Los Alamitos, California
 Rooks, Wendell, M.D., - 1158 Nixon Ave., N.W., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49504
 Rosendale, Richard, M.D. - 638 Goffle Hill Road, Hawthorne, New Jersey
 Roth, Gerald G. - 1714 Howard Avenue, Des Plaines, Illinois
 Rottschaffer, Bruce W. - 6026 W. Roosevelt Road, Oak Park, Illinois
 Rottschaffer, Ronald, Ph.D. - 6026 W. Roosevelt Road, Oak Park, Illinois
 Roys, John L., Ph.D., - Anderson College, Anderson, Indiana
 Ruiter, Michael T. - 2120 Negaunee Drive, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Sanderson, Wm. A. - 407 Geneva Place, Wheaton, Illinois
 Sawyer, Rev. Wilfred, Ph.D. - 9801 Hannett Place, N.E., Albuquerque,
 New Mexico
 Scholten, Rev. James L. - 129 Second Street, Box 305, Silver Grove, Kentucky
 Schregardus, Darell J. - 1214 N. Main St., Wheaton, Illinois 60187
 Searle, Richard, Ph.D. - 8953 "F" Robin Drive, Des Plaines, Illinois
 Sell, Leo L., M.D., - 60 Laurel Lane, N.J. State Hospital Ancora,
 Hammonton, New Jersey
 Shafer, David W. - 15 Iva Mae Drive, Rochester, New York
 Shervy, Roy - 205 N. Wright, Naperville, Illinois 60540
 Sholund, Rev. Milford - 725 E. Colorado, Glendale, California 91205
 Skelton, James H. - Western North Carolina Sanatorium, Black Mountain,
 North Carolina 28711
 Smalligan, Donald H. - 1845 Orville, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Smith, Rev. Richard C. - 22949 Edgewood, St. Clair Shores, Michigan
 Snapper, J. Marion, Ed.D., - 850 Benjamin, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Souders, John E. - 214 Brush Creek, Kansas City, Missouri
 Stam, Jacob - 140 Market Street, Paterson, New Jersey 07505
 Start, Herbert - 6850 S. Division Avenue, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 Steele, Rev. Harland - 1460 Jennings Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49507
 Steenland, Roger, Ph.D. - 6850 S. Division Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49508
 Stouwie, Roger J. - 603-G Eagle Hts., Apts., Madison, Wisconsin 53705
 Strobe, Rev. Donald B. - 3160 Hall Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Taylor, Mrs. Arthur - 13 Canterbury Hill Road, Topsfield, Mass. 01983
 Teeuwissen, Rev. W.J. - Box 125, Drayton Plains, Michigan
 Travis, Lee Edward, Ph.D. - 3412 Red Rose Drive, Encino, California
 Trimble, W. Eugene - 8 Buford Road, W. Peabody, Mass. 01986
 Tweedie, Donald F., Ph.D., - Community Counseling Center, 177 N. Madison,
 Pasadena, California 91101
 Uitvlugt, Peter S. - 337 Pleasantview Drive, Battle Creek, Michigan
 Van Bruggen, John A., Ph.D., - 549 Benjamin, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Vanden Bosch, Rev. Thomas, 1056 7th Ave., Ripon, California
 Vander Ark, Rev. Clifford, Delavan, Wisconsin
 Vanderbeek, Rev. Charles - 2689 142nd Ave., Holland, Michigan
 Vander Linde, L., Jr., Ph.D. - 1240 Allerton, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Vander Wall, Mrs. Grace, - 10101 Park Street, Bellflower, California
 Van Ens, Rev. Clarence - 840 Marion Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49007
 Van Erden, Rev. Thomas - 811 15th Avenue, Fulton, Illinois
 Van Opynen, Miss Catherine - 1935 Kalamazoo Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.

Van Ostenberg, Don L. - 2341 Madison Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Van Valkenburg, R.J., M.D., - 209 Krewson Terrace, Willow Grove, Penn. 19090
 Van Vliet, Miss Bouwine - 5317 Kermit Street, Flint, Michigan 48505
 Vayhinger, John, Jr., Ph.D. - Iliff School of Theology, 2201 S.
 University Blvd., Denver, Colorado 80210
 Velzen, Henry - 6850 S. Division Avenue, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 Vincent, Merville, O., M.D., - 151 Delhi Street, Guelph, Ontario, Canada
 Visser, Duane A. - 7307 Eastern Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 Vohs, Rev. A.P. - John Brown University, Siloam Springs, Arkansas 72761
 Walma, Wayne - 51 Larry Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508
 Watson, Walter V. - 5461 Broadway, Lancaster, New York 14086
 Weilgart, Wolfgang, Ph.D. - 100 Elm Ct., Decorah, Iowa 52101
 Wesseling, Rev. Jay A. - 7655 Greenfield Avenue, Jenison, Mich. 49428
 West, J. Thomas, Ph.D. - 101 Lakeview Ave., S., St. Petersburg, Florida
 Westendorp, Floyd, M.D. - 6850 S. Division Avenue, Grand Rapids, Mich. 49508
 Westmaas, Richard, Ph.D. - 1327 E. Butler, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Westra, Miss Dorothy - 1146 Noble Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan
 Westrate, Miss Donna - Social Service Dept., V.A. Hospital, Box 14,
 Battle Creek, Michigan
 Wittschiede, C.E., D.D. - 328 Hillcrest Drive, Berrien Springs, Mich.
 Wood, Roger L., Ph.D. - 2512 View Ct., N.W., Canton, Ohio
 Young, Dale A., Ed.D. - 2735 Canton Road, Uniontown, Ohio
 Youngs, G.R., Ed.D. - 2137 Chesaning Drive, S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
 Ypma, Rev. Benjamin - 4920 Bauer Road, Hudsonville, Michigan

OBITUARY

We regret to inform our membership of the death of Dr. Cornelius Jaarsma on May 15, 1966. Dr. Jaarsma was Professor of Education at Calvin College. He was an enthusiastic supporter of CAPS and rendered noble service to our organization when he served for several years as executive secretary. We were pleased that he was able to attend the 1966 Convention. The membership of CAPS will miss his gracious and kindly presence as we treasure fond memories of a faithful friend and devoted servant of Christ, the Master Teacher.

APPENDIX-

PAPERS GIVEN AT WORKSHOP FOR SCHOOL COUNSELORS sponsored by CAPS,

April 26, 27, 1966

"The Social Matrix of All Counseling Programs"
by Leonard C. Vander Linde, Ph.D.

"Origins of Pupil Problems in the School Setting"
by Eugene Scholten, Ph.D.

THE SOCIAL MATRIX OF COUNSELING PROBLEMS

by

Leonard C. Vander Linde, Ph.D.*

The honor of talking to a group of persons, who, by their vocation, action, and presence here care about youth and the future imposes on me a formidable task. Your degree of actual expertness derived from the context of dynamic experience with students humbles me. My profession allows me to discover some of the what's and why's of behavior. You have the awesome task of having to know how and to teach it. Consequently, let me define my role as that of a verbally articulated audio-visual aid to your quest for clarity and understanding in an area of significant, common and core concern. We might even dignify the whole process by calling it an exercise in the use of a multidisciplinary approach within a dynamic group setting, structured to provide a body of information for subsequent individual action. Now that we have status taken care of by bowing to the golden calf of scientific designation in operational terms, we can get down to the business of making sense.

Acting as open, honest observers we would agree that today's students are not in the same situation socially, educationally, or personally that we experienced.

The world of today, as viewed by youth, must often seem like a giant pressure cooker. Surrounded on all sides and above by good things to be accomplished along with a sense of urgency plus a nagging fear of disaster to stir them on. If we add a dash of nuclear holocaust anxiety, which headlines display boldly whenever the political leaders decide to do a bit of sword rattling, we have created conditions for adequate uncertainty.

The adults too are living in this pressure-cooker world. How do they handle the inevitable pressures? Sybil K. Richardson suggests that: "In today's shrinking world, feelings of national insecurity and uneasiness about the future - even tomorrow's headlines - grip people everywhere. In our society, as in other societies, when adults are fearful, renewed attention is turned upon the children and youth. When the elders feel weak, ashamed of their indulgences or guilty about their inertia, they do not easily resolve to change themselves, to be themselves stronger, more moral or courageous. Instead, the imperative is handed to children and youth, who must try harder and become more purposeful. Many evidences of this transmittal to the young of the hope for survival are seen today in the increasing, and sometimes conflicting, demands upon schools and the inevitable pressures with which children are having to cope." Neither education nor personal development can flourish in a social climate fraught with fear and insecurity.

Adding to the woes thus far noted we have the fact of a frantic, urbanized culture which has no real place or use for its youth. Their work is not needed by anyone at home, school or elsewhere. Perhaps one of the deeper appeals of the Peace Corps is the opportunity for doing

*Dr. Leonard C. Vander Linde is a consulting psychologist in private practice in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Dr. Vander Linde received his Ph.D. degree from Boston University.

real work in a really needy situation where it was really meaningful to someone, where it made a positive difference. Experiences in New York State with summer campaigns to clean up, fix-up and help-out indicate that useful, meaningful, even idealistically oriented work can be a powerful force in reducing delinquency.

We might speculate as to whether delinquency is not a depressive anger reaction to being a meaningless, misplaced person for whom there is no real need.

Today's world is different in many significant ways from the world of our developmental days.

By our interest and presence we suggest that the difference is greater and of a different kind than ours had been. The net effects of the differences need more careful scouting. Since we all have a strong tendency to consider change or difference as bad, it is important that we are clear in our distinctions and do not rely on emotional impressions as criteria. It is all too easy to make a wholesale dismissal of the problem by regretting its presence and hypocritically playing Pilate with the loud lamentations, prophecies of doom, and much public hand-shaking with a bit of hand-wringing and head-shaking to heighten our aura of innocence. This is a dramatic variant of the "today's children are going to the dogs" routine or "I don't know what this world is coming to" reaction. At its extreme there is the joy in predicting "last days" attitudes with a fascinated search for morbid evidence and pious relief in the happy thought of a millennial-like deliverance just around the corner. This is often polished with a beatific fantasy of "we will soon be in the sweet bye and bye." No matter how proof-texted or virtuous sounding, all of these attitudes are essentially negative, basically unchristian, escapist and damaging to youth. Today's children do not want eternity now, they want and need to know how to live, to grow, to experience, to love, to learn, to give, to make sense of their lives and their future where they are in the here and now. They are right and our task is to help them find their way, to shed light, explore paths, to reason, support and guide their search, to bolster their courage for striving and provide living examples that the game IS worth the candle.

There is little doubt after reading current crime statistics, school drop-out rates, or viewing the spate of educational programs initiated to compensate for lack of basic opportunities, that the social system is evidencing severe strain in providing for youth. However, as educators your interest must be more narrow in its scope and my topic more limited if the speech is to avoid being endless.

This is a pressured generation hemmed about by expectancies, programs, channels or actions all of which are activated within a general context of urgency. A simple boiling down leads us to conclude that today's children are being hurried, harried, and harangued into growing up too much, too soon, too fast with implicitedly too high a penalty for failing to make the grade. Children have disappeared and have been replaced by little men and little women along with demands for a degree of civilization that would honor adults of a century ago.

As a psychologist I suggest that we carefully examine the following factors as central to our understanding of problem-engendering sources.

1. The level of expectancy.
2. The quantity of production desired.
3. The attitude behind the desires.
4. The reactions to varying levels of attainment.

The variables I have listed will apply equally well whether we deal with social, educational, occupational or personal areas of application.

What is the level of expectancy for today's student? Post-sputnik, the level was raised consciously, loudly, hurriedly, if not desperately. Suddenly it seemed as if education had been in a lotus garden too long and had become ineffective, incomplete and dangerously lacking in perspective. Prior to sputnik it seemed for a bit as if schools had failed to teach people to read. If this was true one wonders how so many so badly taught ever caught the fever by reading about sputnik or how they ever understood the implications.

The fact remains that education has been jolted by history and is still quivering under the impact. Today's children "must not make our mistakes" has become the resolve of today's controlling generation. The frantic efforts at prevention have induced a spate of changes in all areas from administration to curriculum. Knowledge is no longer power in the broad cultural sense but now is looked on as a pragmatic tool or, really, a form of potential power which must be converted to immediate and effective use with expediency and utility as prime considerations. We now demand people who can do things, not those who know things, who try to find meanings which enrich life. In our haste not to be outdone by the Russians are we not creating another, seemingly refined form of proletariat or worker?

The principal problems inherent in our level of expectancy is the excessiveness of the demands, the faulty emphasis and the atmosphere of intense anxiety in which the expectancy functions. A little anxiety motivates, too much debilitates and paralyzes action. A test becomes no longer an inventory and evaluational guide, but a test of oneself, one's total self. Small wonder that blocking, pseudo-stupidity, absenteeism, psychosomatic reactions become a too frequent phenomena among the more susceptible. In the most extreme forms of behavior, reactions such as chronic under-achievement, truancy, delinquency et.al. Are we not dealing with depression more than with depravity? Who can work when hope is diminished to the near vanishing point? If scared to death we all fight for life in some form.

Psychologically, conflict is the root of all inappropriate reaction. By adding new sources of conflict do we strengthen the ability to progress?

Fear of the future is a basic and inescapable concern of any developing individual. All education has as its aim a preparation for the future and the demands of today ideally reflect those to be expected and prepare the student to meet them when the time comes. The future is precisely the source of the greatest and most insistent pressures. The American dream of onward and upward, each generation better than its predecessor, the demand that children become better, more favored economically, socially, occupationally etc. than their parents, reduces life

to competition for prestige ratings. Children too readily become the salvation of an unsatisfactory parental ego-image and thus inherit all of the adults' anxieties and feelings of inadequacy plus a mandate to be different, better, smarter, richer, happier, prettier and more popular or some catastrophe will ensue. Today's children are being asked to be the fairy godmothers and turn the parents' pumpkins into coaches, to see that the parental Cinderella finally gets to attend the ball, marry the prince and live happily ever after. What a grim turn of events when the child of Mr. Blue Collar must become white collar or both he and blue collar will be socially damned. Our values are out of joint, but the false ordering of values is fostered every day by advertising. We are all caught in the tangled web of those who are practice to deceive. The greater the degree of discrepancy between what parents feel they are and what they want or wish to be, the greater the insistence that children must close this gap. Also the degree of discrepancy will determine the degree of compensation required. The degree of compensation demanded will control the character and intensity of the pressure placed on the child.

This general analysis can be applied to such diverse phenomena as homework, curricula needs, place of clubs in school and personal life, importance of athletics, choice of apparel and amounts needed, the kind of grades which must be attained, what kind of jobs to get, etc.

The problem of pressure is simply that it is inversely proportional to the ability to produce. Those who can do the least feel it the most and hence do less than what they could or quit the effort all together. The latter, a discouragement syndrome, is an all too familiar reaction which most of you see too often.

The problems of pressure arising from too high a level of expectancy are experienced in varied forms. Some of the more evident are:

1. Demands to get ahead academically from the earliest level to the highest, e.g. insistence on reading at kindergarten, the demands for grades, the competitive race for college.
2. Demands to get ahead socially--a form of "you don't want to be a poor nobody like us all your life now do you?"
3. Excessive organizing of activities for youth to the point where solitary play is felt as loafing and a sign of dangerous laziness to be curbed by more participation in a developmental group.
4. The too early use of ability groupings and "total push" programs to shove the "gifted" into high gear.
5. Failure to accept individual differences. If good at one thing, then they have to be good at everything. This leads to real conflicts in values, for how can the most popular, best musician, all around athlete, best individual sport, best team member, belong to the right clubs, be accepted by the controlling clique, date or be dated by the highest rated prospects, have the most money, best car, have the father with the highest prestige job etc.? It can't be done and the student knows it, yet in order to please, they will try to do the impossible, up to a point. Once failure is too inescapable, then the reaction is apt to be equally severe and often disastrous.

The level of expectancy when unrealistic always drags with it a demand for greater quantity of performance. Once irrationality is the rule then primitive concepts govern. Consequently more or bigger is better, no matter of what. Quality of performance is ignored and masses of dull drill on the same things seems to be seen as evidence of growth and a measure of learning. Thus, reams of isolated facts are memorized and thought of as knowledge. A creative idea, an intuitive, insightful hunch or penetrating question is looked upon as wasteful or luxurious. We create future quiz program participants, we don't educate to live. The most serious consequence is that we stifle curiosity, regiment good minds, and prepare the soil for the ultimate conformity cult, Orson Well's vision of 1984, a state where human becomes that travesty of itself, humanoid. When a fact becomes an end, not a means, a goal, not a tool, then meaning has become meaningless. It is still to be reckoned with that what we are and intend is more to be valued than how much we can do as measured by units of production. We do arithmetic problems of the same kind to strengthen our knowledge of process through application. There is a ceiling on how many are enough and sheer repetition becomes busy work, dull, and all study tends to be repudiated as drudgery.

A definite evil of too high expectation, too much quantity demanded, too much pressure is the "exhaustion syndrome" of the able student worn out with chronic effort, motivated by chronic anxiety to succeed, however vaguely defined, who begins a frantic search for his lost childhood, freedom from responsibility and retreat from growth with angry, blind resistance and retardation because he has "had it" far too soon. Many college dropouts, acute anxiety reactions, cases of psychotic collapse are examples of those pushed too far too fast without a chance to catch their emotional breath. They have been intellectually hyperventilated into a restitutive coma, but often interpret the break as further proof of deep incompetence and may go on to be broken - winged birds in life's flight.

Is it fair? We who can know must and should speak out, analyze our actions, plan our programs in the total context of students lives. We cannot do all good things at once. Choices must be made, plans formulated, calmly in the context of hope and confidence. We cannot afford to be scared into fire-fighting, gap-closing in desperation, guilt for the gaps, fears for the results, and preach calm, hope, cheer or optimism. What and how we do will speak so loudly that they won't hear a word we say.

The sources of stress enumerated affect us all in general and specific ways. They constitute pressures within the broad culture we all share through indirect influence and by direct, active participation. The effects of living in a particular sub-culture can be either positive or negative. The addition of religious obligation as a component to the pressure for success produces a marked, personal sense of guilt in the one who fails. To make a divine command out of success places the one who fails in eternal jeopardy. We all sense and experience that a religious family can have unique stress in its child-rearing efforts. What then are some of the areas of stress in an active Protestant religious family.

The synoptic but representative image of a "rightly divining" family is one which has happy, loving relationships in the immediate family; mutual respect; and doing things together frequently. Prime value is placed on being agreeable, friendly, pleasant and above all together. The net result of this image is to create patterns of discipline which

foster the togetherness in all things. Any difference whether intellectual, verbal, or behavioral becomes a threat of separation, a means of creating distance between members of the nuclear family. Difference becomes a cause for intolerance and hasty, often violent reaction to restore unanimity. Sibling rivalry is most problem-provoking and radical means to restore the love balance are apt to be quickly employed. The image of a congenial family functioning harmoniously and presented to the world is often a necessary proof of the parents adequacy as Christians. The normal conflicts and rebellion of youth are intolerable and often insurmountable in religiously oriented families.

The proof of failure to provide perfect behavior through enough parental love prevents the youth from help because parents, out of their guilt, sabotage the counseling process. This is achieved by either blame-casting on the child with accusations of perversity, other overt or subtle forms of rejection, refusal to participate in the counseling, often sudden termination of therapy. Often counseling is seen as a conflict of authorities with the parent refusing to surrender primacy.

Perhaps the chief villain in religious families is the employment of the "conditional love". The use of this without a firm base of initial acceptance creates a pathological conscience with its attendant burdening guilt or self-defeating behaviors.

In a more typical Protestant family the presence of a future orientation often wreaks havoc. All passivity, indulgence, fun is seen as waste, a failure to prepare today for what is needed tomorrow. Mobility strivings make every now a springboard for later. Movement must be upward and onward. Impulse and environment are feared as sources for damaging the future. Every act is a symbol of worse to come, e.g., one drink leads to a fear of becoming alcoholic.

Autonomy is a virtue outside of the family, but conformity within is a must. The children are in effect made to be competitive, but without appearing to be competitive. The clash of values between competition and togetherness, between self-actualization and the love-ethic produces strain, sometimes paralysis of action or blind, contrary reaction.

Basically, the religious family experiences all of the cultural strains, but with an exaggerated intensity due to its peculiar emphasis on value conflicts. The conflicts are often perpetuated and reinforced by the religious institutions such as church and school.

Our task should be a careful appraisal of the effects, a research for relevant causes, and humane efforts at amelioration. Can we do this without some soul-searching as to our own organization, values and life styles?

The blind cannot lead the blind except to mutual disaster. A worthy purpose for our efforts at this Conference could well be to help those who have eyes to see--to see and those who have ears to hear to let them hear.

ORIGINS OF PUPIL PROBLEMS IN THE SCHOOL SETTING

by

Eugene Scholten, Ph.D.*

(Summary of a Tape Recording of the remarks made April 26, 1966.)

I have been asked to speak tonight about the origins of pupil problems in the classroom. Rather than looking at the traditional influences such as the home, intellectual factors or personality considerations, some sociological institutional factors will be examined. More specifically, the dynamics of two areas will be noted. I would like to share some thoughts with you and, in turn, get your comments and reactions to them. The two areas have to do with the structure of the classroom first, and secondly, with the teacher as guiding person for learning activities of the classroom.

First, as to the structure of the classroom, I would like to consider this topic in terms of three issues. As teachers, we struggle with these issues daily in the classroom. Stating these as issues might give us a vantage point from which we can approach the origins of a number of pupil learning problems. I have called this first issue direction versus self direction. This refers to the amount of direction which each pupil is permitted as opposed to the amount of activities which are teacher-oriented and teacher directed. The amount of directed activities in the typical classroom poses a number of problems. Educators generally agree that in practice, the classroom is over-organized in many ways--grades (both kinds) is one example. Lip service is paid to such concepts as grouping and individual differences but it appears that we still somehow feel that it is not good for children to be permitted to select or direct very many of their own activities. On this score, we have frightening evidence from our social scientists. Montessori, for example, states explicitly that the only true learning is self learning--all other learning is futile and really a waste of time. Others, notably Lindner in Must We Conform and Bruner in the Process of Education attempt to come to grips with the amount of direction which might be good for a child and conducive to school learning. Their theme is that the excessive amount of direction in the classroom results in negative attitudes towards learning. I doubt that an educator today can read a book like Summerhill without getting the gnawing feeling that we have hardly looked at what the relationship between direction and learning does to pupils. A fairer way of saying this would be that although we may profess a belief in self direction for pupils, we probably differ considerably as to how this goal is to be achieved.

The second issue is closely related to the first issue and can be expressed as "motivation and then learning" or "learning first and motivation later" and we might add "we hope". It still has to do with the pupil's interest and motivation as well as the involvement with learning. It raises such questions as whether the child is actively involved in learning or the passive receptor of it. This issue gets us

*Dr. Eugene Scholten is School Psychologist for the Holland, Michigan Public Schools. Dr. Scholten received his Ph.D. degree from Michigan State University.

closer to the individual child and concerns needs and such matters as the asking of questions--or more specifically, who asks the questions? In this frame of reference, it must be stated that obviously the teaching of skills is important in school learning. Beyond this, if it is recognized that learning is a process rather than a product, then learning is something more than skills and classroom activities which are put together. We often comment that we would like to see more intellectual curiosity in the classrooms. However, it seems that we don't know what to do with it, how to fit it in. When is the right time for children to ask questions? How much creativity or individuality is there room for? When these considerations are put against the structure of the classroom, many problems and questions need to be raised--homework, textbooks, workbooks, and assignments. If it doesn't fit the traditional structures of learning, the pupil is judged a failure. In practice today, it seems that this issue has resulted in our setting certain learnings before children with the hope that motivation and interest will somehow be generated. The bulk of the research and evidence suggests that the opposite is true. Years ago, Froebel was one educator who tried to break down the structure of the classroom which he said was too stiff and traditional. But this was one hundred years ago!

The third issue pertaining to classroom structure has to do with "the whole child" versus the "fragmented child" and has to do with the specific needs and goals of the learner. The term "whole child" has quite frightening implications and smacks of mental health goals which also appear to be rather frightening. What we are really asking is whether or not mental health goals are compatible with good classroom goals and procedure. The real concern here is not theoretical but has to do with the extent to which pupils perceive these goals realistically and respond dynamically in the learning experience of the school day. For example, if we were to ask pupils what is expected of them in school, we might get a behavioral response ... "I have to be good, nice and quiet". It appears that Friedenberg's reference to the emphasis of schools on behavior rather than learning is appropos. Or students might say ... "...to do what teacher says" which would also imply that the child has little to do with setting standards. Being quiet, then, to the learner, becomes a goal--a goal of the structure of the classroom. As long as the learner behaves quietly, he considers himself successful in school. Many goals appear to be of that type. Conformity becomes a goal in and of itself. Listening becomes a goal and then becomes modified into giving the impression of listening so that the teacher doesn't sense the pupil isn't listening. These are goals which are in conflict with good mental health and contribute directly to alienation, improper motivation, under-achievement and the like. The learner is being fragmented and divided--he fights a battle within himself of appearances versus the real and the actual at an ego level. The learner may know the external goals and behaviors through which he is expected to pass, but internally "feel" that he is not oriented to the tasks at hand. This is a bit analogous to the saying that sometimes people are too busy going to church to be found of God, or to find God. In school, pupils may be too busy with schoolwork to get an education. It seems that the learner is often expected to have faith in the teacher to the effect that she knows what she is doing and that someday it will all make sense. Secondary and post-poned goals by themselves are hardly in the category of adequate or real motivation. This same kind of secondary goal is seen with threats as well--"wait until next year when you get into third grade and you'll really be out of it." There appears to be little doubt that we believe that learning

has to fit or relate to the whole child. This issue of helping the learner realize meaningful goals appears to be a critical issue. This does not mean that a pupil is only able to say what was learned specifically, but rather to feel or sense that today was a learning experience. Much more time and attention needs to be expended here--both with the attitudes and expectations learners bring to school with them and the atmosphere and structure of learning experiences into which learners are placed.

Secondly, we need to direct our attention to the teacher as the person largely responsible for the learning experiences of pupils. To begin with, most of us are probably aware that some of the research, notably the studies at Peabody and N.Y.U. with the Edwards have not been kind towards the person or personality of the teacher. Teachers are variously described as authoritarian, rigid, dogmatic, moralistic, opinionated, judgmental and overly compulsive with detail. This is noted for two reasons--these may well represent the role or image seen as prerequisites for learning experiences. In other words, the point is that we may have a "set" or expectations concerning relationships with learners which calls for these characteristics. Secondly, it would have to be noted that there is no evidence to suggest that these are ideal characteristics or even articulately stated. This particular research does suggest that neither the philosophy nor the procedures of teachers change very much. This is true not only of college teacher training programs but also of teaching experiences. Jersild points out that teachers are trapped by rather specific and direct subject matter areas into which they must fit the learning activities. Jersild feels that teachers must sense that the total experiences between teacher and learner are far greater than these specific subject matter goals--subject matter should be a tool or a means to developing communication skills, values, attitudes and the like.

In practice, teachers are much concerned about the whole child and what goes on in the classroom. It may be fair to assume that teachers are threatened by what goes on in the classroom both as to the behavior of the learners as well as the end results of the learning experiences. Teachers may see themselves as part of the problem and there may be something wrong here if teachers feel that they have a product to "get across" or sell rather than a process into which learners are to be involved. It's a case of putting the responsibility on the learner insofar as he can manage the consequences of his behaviors. Teachers and counselors alike are awe-struck by the pupil or counselee that can't be "reached". We see walls, resentments and feelings rising up which need to be permeated before the relationship can be productive. Teachers feel a responsibility in altering behavior which is judged away. Does the teacher really sense her own involvement? How does he or she get perspective and objectivity? Obviously our counselors and caseworkers cannot handle the amount of referred problems and teachers need to be aware of their strengths and weaknesses in interpersonal relationships. As teachers, we are guilty of threatening children--aiming right for the ego with name-calling or behavioral questions such as 'why did you lie'? I'm waiting for the day when a pupil will reply with a psychoanalytic reference to "regressive denial in the service of the ego". Why do we ask impossible "why did you" questions? Respecting pupils is something we don't speak of often and yet our manners and attitudes tell pupils a great deal about our feelings for them. Would you talk to adults or parents the same way you talk to pupils, or do we sometimes take advantage of these little ones and actually provoke them? Are we good listeners? Do pupils have the right to disagree

and do they know how to go about voicing their rights? What is the "right" of the pupil in the teacher-pupil relationship?

As a school psychologist, I am sometimes involved in the relationship between the teacher and pupil. Time spent with teachers is most valuable in knowing how the learner is perceived. Misunderstandings and feelings of not being liked are real to both pupils and teachers. Sometimes pupils are hard to like--they may be offensive to us persons and it might be important for the teacher to recognize these feelings. Yet, teachers need to be emotionally involved with pupils--there needs to be a personal involvement in the learning process. Teachers need to be mature, empathetic, flexible and a host of other characteristics to which most of us fall short in one way or another. Possibly the mental health frame of reference is hardly an appropriate model for both the learning and experiences of the teacher-pupil relationship. I'm sure that the days of the teacher as the stern lecturer and imparter of all knowledge and wisdom are passing. These days of shifting goals and lifting sights with greater pupil involvement are difficult for us all and are far more taxing on the creativity and ingenuity of the classroom teacher. It seems to me that if the teacher perceives her role as that of a guide rather than that of director, the emphasis will be appropriately shifted to the learning process with lucid goals for the student. Maybe this would even help pupils learn to better live with the tension from our "pressure cooker" society to which a previous speaker alluded.

In summary, a teacher is critically involved in the learning and motivation of classroom experiences of children. As Christians, we would want to underscore the idea that our person is undoubtedly the most critical aspect of our relationship with pupils. In the teacher-pupil relationship which is so unique and not quite like any other, we have the opportunity to guide and lead rather than direct and judge. We have the obligation to examine all of our experiences in the classroom; the responsibility to try to change and grow to the new and the courage and faith in knowing that we might add to the life of a child.

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